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CONTENTS

PART I

PAGE.

1. Śubhāśaṁsanam, — Pramathānāth Tarka-bhūṣaṇa Śarma. ... 1
2. Pūrvamīmāṁsā, — Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D. Litt. ... 3
3. The Rāmānujīya Text of the Bhagavadgīta S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph. D. ... 7
4. Gleanings from the Matsya Purāṇa on War and Peace,—K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. ... 17
5. Viśvādarśa and its Commentary Vivaraṇa by Kavikānta-Sarasvati,—P. K. Gode, M.A. ... 27
6. The Bhallaṭa Śataka,—V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph. D. 37
7. A Study of Dreams in the Philosophy of Śrī Rāmānuja,—Dr. K. C. Varadachari, M.A., Ph. D. ... 57
8. Copper-plate Inscription of Taḷḷapāka Tiruveṅgaḷanātha issued from Tirucānūr,—M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A. ... 89
9. Grandha-grandhulu,—Veturi Prabhākara Sastri.. 107

PART II

1. A Scheme for an Oriental Institute at Tirupati... 5

PART III

1. Atri-Saṁhitā ... 1

MADURA TAMIL SANGAM
MADURA

PART I

शुभाशंसनम्

सन्तः सन्तु निरन्तरं कुशलिनः क्षेमाय विश्वात्मनां
धर्मो व्याजविवर्ज्जितः श्रुतिमतो देदीप्यतां भारते ।
देहात्मैक्यमतिस्त्रितापजननी क्षिप्रं क्षयं गच्छतु
श्रीगोविन्दपदाम्बुजे सुजनुषां प्रीतिः समुज्जृम्भताम् ॥

इति श्री प्रमथनाथ तर्कभूषण शर्मणः

PURVA-MIMAMSA

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The treatment accorded to the study of *Pūrva-Mīmāmsā* is one of our 'literary curiosites.' Its study in our Pāṭhaśālas began to be dropped, curiously enough, when interest in 'Vedānta' *i.e.*, Uttara-Mīmāmśā began to be drifted into wrong channels. It began to be claimed by the Neo-Vedāntin that absolute, unalloyed Vedānta was the only right path and all else was wrong, leading man to perdition; and the worst of them was *Pūrva-Mīmāmsā*, which they dubbed 'Karma-Mīmāmsā.'

These good people forgot what Pūrva-Mīmāmsā really was. The function of Pūrva-Mīmāmsā is nothing more or less than (1) to expound the means of knowing our duty, (2) to show that the scripture alone is the sole means of knowing it, and, as a necessary sequel to this, (3) to take up particular cases where the exact significance of a number of scriptural texts was doubtful and then to reason out the right conclusion on the particular points. In course of the latter business, the *Śāstra* evolved a few *principles of interpretation.*

This represents the sole function of *Pūrva-Mīmāmsā*; it has no direct bearing upon rituals or their performances—it has no concern with the actual performance—whether the ladle was to be of this or that wood, whether the cloth was to be hemp or silk. All that it was directly concerned with was to find out what the actual teaching of the scriptural texts was. This process was carried out on a universal basis covering all cases when similar facts were concerned. It is true that the examples chosen to illustrate the rules of interpretation thus evolved were chosen from ritualstic performances. But

the reason for this lay in the fact that these performances formed the most familar everyday activity of the persons concerned and thus afforded the most readily understood illustrations.

Latterly these performances fell into desuetude, and the fact made the Mīmāmsā literature difficult to understand, so much so that the whole purpose of Mīmāmsā was misunderstood, and the idea became common that the *Śāstra* dealt with '*Karmakāṇḍa*,' or more specially, with sacrificial performance. And as the Vedāntin professed to abhor such performances, he looked down upon the whole *Śāstra*. In his enthusiasm the Vedāntin forgot that his great teacher, Śaṅkarācārya himself, in his *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* has made use of the '*Nyāyas*' *i.e.*, principles of Pūrva Mīmāmsā. Not only this: he has referred to the *Śāstra* as the '*Pūrva-tantra*', *i.e.*, the preliminary or the prolegomena to the Śāstra, the Vedānta being the '*Uttara*' or final '*Tantra*.'

Thus the two *Śāstras*, *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mīmāmsā*—popularly known as '*Mīmāmsā*' and '*Vedānta*',— are mutually complementary and they are in no way hostile to each other.

All this is not the outcome of the present wanton somewhat addled brains. It has the full support of the great Śaṅkarācārya himself. This can be verified by every careful student of the *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* itself.

Attempts have been made, off and on in the past, to show how the rules of interpretation evolved by the Pūrva-Mīmāmsā Śāstra can have been applied with success to domains other than the sacrificial performance. There is no law-book, *Dharmaśāstra-nibandha*, which does not bristle with discussions on Mīmāmsā-principles, and several knotty points of law are solved with the help of these principles. Even so late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century, an important case in the Bombay High Court and the Privy Council, was decided with the help of one of those principles, which, however, was misunderstood and misapplied by the counsel and

the judges alike with the result that the 'case-law' on the point has become entirely 'illegal' in the true sense.

As a matter of fact, whatever the object,—if the exact meaning of texts happens to be the determining factor, we cannot do without those sets of principles that have been evolved by the *Pūrva-Mīmamsā Śāstra.*

Will the new *Vīdyālaya* at Tirupati succeed in restoring its study?

THE RĀMĀNUJĪYA TEXT
OF THE
BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

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The *Bhagavadgītā* is claimed to be not a revealed text (*śruti*), but only a traditional re-telling of an originally revealed text, a *smṛti* as it is technically called. This implies human authorship, although that need not preclude the incorporation within its body of some of the *ipsissima verba* of the Lord as preserved in tradition, any more than actual citations from *śruti* texts like the Upaniṣads. Now, conceding human authorship should carry with it naturally the implication that the text of the Poem is not, as in the case of a Vedic Samhitā, preserved in a fixed and unalterable form. And yet it is generally held that "the Gītā is textually a clearly defined unit and its numerous manuscripts show practically no real variants.[1]"

It is now high time that such a view, which is belied by an actual examination of the representative Mss. of the work, be given up altogether. The fact is that the *Bhagavadgītā* has not hitherto been critically edited on the basis of proper collations of Mss. It has been in fact facilely assumed that the text as preserved in the oldest extant commentary on the *Gītā* —that of Śaṅkarācārya (eighth century after Christ)—is the only text in existence, and that there is no documentary evidence for the existence of any other form of the text. Dr. F. Otto Schrader drew attention,[2] in 1930, to the existence of a

1. *The Bhagavadgītā Interpreted by F. Edgerton,* Chicago, 1925, p. 99.

2. *The Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgītā*, F. Otto Schrader Stuttgart, 1930.

"Kashmir Recension" of the *Bhagavadgītā*, which differs from the current or Vulgate text of the Poem not only in giving "fourteen complete and four half stanzas" not found in the current version, but also in presenting over 250 *varietas lectionis.* In connection with the critical edition of the Bhīṣmaparvan which I am preparing for the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, I had occasion to examine a much larger number of "Kashmir" Mss. of the *Bhagavadgītā* than those available to Schrader, as also a number of Bengāli, Grantha, Telugu, Malayālam and Devanāgarī Mss., besides one Ms. from Nepāl and the *Gītā* text embodied in the Kāwi abridgment as preserved in the Island of Java. I am accordingly in a position to say that, in the matter of the preservation of its text and its immunity from textual corruptions and alterations, the *Bhagavadgītā* need not be considered as an exception. Nor need it be supposed that the Kashmir Mss. are alone, or in any way peculiar, in preserving textual addititions and alterations. Every Provincial version (that is, every group of Mss. copied in a Provincial script) not to say every solitary Ms. has in a larger or smaller measure its own variations. Thus, for the first nine Adhyāyas or chapters, I was able to register—apart from sheer scribal lapses—as many as 32, 103, 72, 75, 57, 100, 54, 75, and 71 variant readings respectively, which include at least three genuine extra stanzas unknown to the Kashmir version.

These *varietas lectionis* have sprung from normal causes, the operation of which has not to any extent proved different or less effective because the *Bhagavadgītā* happened to be committed to memory and frequently recited as a religious exercise. The recorded variants include several deliberate emendations and simplifications of archaisms in language which can in most cases be recognized and eliminated. I have, in another place, tried to show that most of the so-called Kashmirian variants[1] are, in this sense, of a secondary origin,

1. *The So-called Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgītā* published in the *New Indian Antiquary*, II. 4.

and cannot, in the majority of cases, claim superiority or authenticity as compared with the readings preserved by the Śāṅkarabhāṣya. And it is equally so in the case of most of the numerous variants preserved by the other versions or individual Mss.

Śaṅkarācārya himself mentions *pāṭhabhedas* in the *Gītā* in just five places,[1] and two of these variants are what may be called "Kashmirian." Apart from this, on a critical examination of Śaṅkarācārya's readings and the variants offered by the several Mss., I have found it necessary to change the Śānkara text in one or two places, and hesitatingly reject it, or retain it, in about a dozen other cases. The exact passages and the reasons for the treatment that I have given to them will be detailed elsewhere.[2] In this place I propose to compare the Gītāpāṭha of Śaṅkarācārya with that followed by Rāmānujācārya (particularly on the evidence of the *Tātparyacandrikā* of Śrī Vedāntadeśikācārya) and offer a few observations on the same. As the evidence had to be assembled in a hurry I cannot claim immunity from a few errors of omission and commission, which I shall gladly rectify.

i. 1—ii. 10.—As there is no Śāṅkarabhāṣya on this portion and as Rāmānuja's own Bhāṣya on it is not very detailed, no adequate matter for comparision is available.

ii. 11.—By the manner of Rāmānuja's explanation (anuśocasi ... ca bhāṣase ... ; yac ca anuśocanam ... bhāṣaṇam ca ...) it would appear that for *anvaśocan* Rāmānuja read *anuśocan* which is the Kashmir reading. The *Tātparyacandrikā*, however, does not lend support to such a supposition. Nor is it able to adequately explain the use of the *Laṅ* (Acrist).

1. Namely, vi. 9, *viśiṣyate*: *vimucyate* iti vā pāṭhāntaram ; xi. 41, *tavedam* ; *tavemam* iti pāṭho yadyasti ; xiii. 20, kārya*karaṇa*kartṛtve : kārya*kāraṇa*kartṛtve ityasmin napi pāṭhe ; xviii. 54, na *kāṅkṣati* : na *hṛṣyati* iti vā pāṭhaḥ.—It may be mentioned incidently that in xi. 41 Rāmānuja reads *imam* (which regularizes grammar), but the *Tātparyacandrikā* is not aware of such a reading in the Bhāṣya.

2. In the forthcoming edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* for the B. O. R. Institute.

ii 13.—Both Rāmānunujācārya and the *Tātparyacandrikā* seem to have read *śocati* for *muhyati*, the reading in the Śāṅkarabhāṣya. This variant *śocati* is preserved in just a few Mss.

ii. 29c.—For *Āścaryavac cainam* of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja apparently read *Āścaryavac caivaṃ*. The variant is not of much consequence.

ii. 63.—For *praṇaśyati* Rāmānuja seems to have read *vinaśyati*, although Vedāntadeśika reads *praṇaśyati*. Madhva seems likewise to have read *vinaśyati*. The Javanese reading is *vinaśyati* also. The variant is immaterial.

ii. 72.—*Brahma-nirvāṇam*, which Śaṅkara interprets as one word, Rāmānuja splits into two. The *Tātparyacandrikā* observes—*Ṣaṣṭhīsamāsabhramāpākaraṇāyāha — Nirvāṇamayam Brahma*. Madhva's reading is the same as that of Rāmānuja. Only he interprets *nirv(b)āṇam* as *aśarīram*.

iii. 2.—For *Vyāmiśreṇa = iva* of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja reads *Vyāmiśreṇa = eva*. The latter reading has the support of a large number of reliable Mss. Śaṅkarācārya argues that the occurence of *iva* twice in the sentence is for the purpose of avoiding the remotest suspicion that Arjuna attributes unto Kṛṣṇa any desire to deliberately mislead. Even for that purpose one *iva* could have sufficed.

iii. 10.—In place of Śaṅkara's *Sahayajñāḥ* Rāmānuja reads *saha yajñaiḥ* as two words and the *Tātparyacandrikā* confirms that reading, which however makes no change in the sense.

v. 13.—In *Navadvāre pure dehī naiva kurvan* a few Mss. read *dehe* for *dehī* through case-attraction, from whence springs also the variant *gehe*. As words are not written separately in the Mss. *dehenaiva* also becomes a possible variant. In Rāmānuja's *Bhāṣya* (Navadvāre pure saṃyasya dehī svayaṃ vaśī dehādhiṣṭhānam prayatnam akurvan *dehe naiva* kārayan sukham āste) the possibility of his having read *dehenaiva* (one word) just suggests itself, as the Gujarathi Press edition prints the two words together; but that is clearly impossible. The word *dehī* actually occurs in the Rāmānujīya *Bhāṣya*.

v. 21.—For *yat* in the line *vindatyātmani yat sukham*, as given by Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja reads *yaḥ* to agree with the following: *saḥ......aśnute*. This no doubt simplifies the syntax, but the other roundabout construction (yat ātmani sukham asti tat yaḥ vindati saḥ sukham ... aśnute) has the merit of focussing attention on the special kind of *sukham* which is to be pointedly referred to. A similar case occurs in viii. 17, in which *ahar ye* is read for *ahar yat*, leading to a similar simplification of syntax. Schrader thought that the *yaḥ* in v. 21 was a peculiarly Kashmir reading. It is given by a few non-Kashmir Mss. also. The better class of Mss. however support the *lectio difficilior* YAT in v. 21 as well as in viii. 17. In the latter case, indeed, Rāmānuja reads *yat*, but the *Tātparya-candrikā* says that Rāmānuja expresses his approval of the reading *ye*. I do not see it in that light.

vi. 7.—For *mānapamānayoḥ*, read by Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja reads *mānāvamānayoḥ*. The same is the case in xiv. 25, but not in xii. 18, where Rāmānuja too reads *mānāpamānayoḥ*. In some scripts *pa* and *ya* look alike, and the variant has no other significance.

vi. 11.—In the last pāda of the stanza Śaṅkara reads *cailājina* and Rāmānuja reads *celājina*. The lexicons tell us that *cela* means any cloth, while *caila* denotes a softer variety of it. No essential difference in interpretation is involved. In a case like this one is entirely at the mercy of the scribes.

vi. 13.—For *sthiraḥ*, the Śāṅkara reading, Rāmānuja reads *sthiram*. The Mss. show great divergence of readings, none of which are of vital importance.

vi. 19.—For the word *ātmanaḥ* at the end of the stanza as read by Śaṅkara, the majority of the Kashmir Mss. read *ātmani*. Since Rāmānuja in his *Bhāṣya* writes—"Yoginaḥ, *ātmani* yogam yuñjataḥ, *ātmasvarūpasya* sā upamā," it is doubtful whether he was prepared to do without the genitive, or without the locative form. As a matter of fact he seems to want both. This would probably imply that Rāmānuja was aware of the two readings, and did not wish to decide.

vi. 28.—For *Yuñjann evam*, the Śāṅkara reading, Rāmānuja read *[Evam] yuñjan*, a change of no moment. Madhva also has the same reading as Rāmānuja. The majority of Mss. supports Śaṅkara.

vi. 39.—*Etan me saṁśayam*, the reading given by Śaṅkara, contains a grammatical difficulty, which Mss. attempt to rectify by reading *enam* (as does Rāmānuja) or *etam* (as does the *Tātparyacandrikā*) or *evam*. Exactly similar difficulty meets us again in xvi. 13: *idam manoratham* (Śaṅkara), and *imam manoratham* (Rāmānuja.). The neuter pronoun, containing the *lectio difficilior*, must have obviously been the original reading in both cases.

ix. 18.—Śaṅkara reads *Prabhavaḥ pralayaḥ sthānam* as three separate words. Rāmānuja reads them as one word: *Prabhava-pralaya-sthānam*. On this the *Tātparyacandrikā* observes—*Prabhavaḥ iti vyastam paroktam pāṭhāntaram aprasiddher anārjavāc ca anādṛtam.* A very large number of Mss. nevertheless read the words separately, and one wonders why the reading was styled *aprasiddha*. As to *ṛjutā* or straightforwardness, the point can be argued with *finesse*; but it will not be attempted here.

x. 17.—*Katham vidyām aham yogin tvām.....* Here instead of the Vocative *Yogin*, read by Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja reads *Yogī*, to qualify *aham*; and explains the word as *bhaktiyoga-niṣṭhaḥ san*. Here too the *Tātparyacandrikā* observes—*Atra yogin iti pareṣām pāṭhaḥ anārṣaḥ.* Not many Mss. support Rāmānuja's reading.

x. 42.—*Kim jñatena tavārjuna*: Instead of *jñātena*, the Śāṅkara reading, Rāmānuja has *jñānena*. The letters *ta* and *na* are often mistaken, the one for the other. Not much difference in sense is here involved. Quite a large number of Mss. here support the Rāmānujīya reading.

xi. 8.—Instead of *śakyase* (Śaṅkara) Rāmānuja gives the more normal form *śakṣyase*. *Śakyase* can be a regular if derived from *śaka marṣaṇe*, and in any case it is the *lectio difficilior*.

xi. 17.—For *durnirīkṣyam* of Śaṅkara *durnirīkṣam* is given by Rāmānuja. Both forms are equally valid and mean the same.

xiii. 11.—In *tattvajñānārthadarśanam* (the text of Śaṅkara) Rāmānuja reads *cintanam.* The *Tātparyacandrikā* disapproves Śaṅkara's interpretation and says—Darśanaśabdaś cātra adhyetṛbhirnapaṭhyate. Nevertheless, quite a large number of good Mss. support Śaṅkara's reading.

xiii. 20.—For *Kāryakāraṇakartṛtve,* the Śāṅkara reading, Rāmānuja reads "*kāraṇa,*" the *Tātparyacandrikā* taking occasion to observe: Paroktam pāṭhāntaram aprasiddher anādṛtam. The Śāṅkara reading involves a slight metrical irregularity and is on that account likely to be the original reading. Śaṅkara himself mentions the variant.

xiii. 23.—*Ya evam vetti,* the Śāṅkara reading appears as *Ya enam vetti,* in Rāmānuja. The variant, due to varṇasādṛśya, is not of much consequence.

xiv. 11.—.. *dehe'smin prakāśa upajāyate jñānam*......Here Śaṅkara understands the word as *prakāśa (h)* and Rāmānuja as *prakāśe.* The *Tātparyacandrikā* observes: Prakāśaśabdo 'tra na prathamāntaḥ, jñānaśabdena punaruktiprasaṅgāt. The point made is not of great consequence.

xiv. 25.—*See* vi. 7 above.

xv. 4.—......*prapadye yataḥ pravṛttiḥ*......Śaṅkara explains this as "Prapadye iti parimārgitavyam." Rāmānuja reads it as *prapadyed yataḥ,* or in the alternative, *prapadya+iyataḥ,* if the Parasmaipada form *prapadyet* is to be objected to. The fact that Rāmānuja was led to assume the same reading as Śaṅkara, but only divide the words differently, would seem to imply that Rāmānuja knew that the Śaṅkara reading had more backing. As a matter of fact it has greater manuscript support.

xvi. 2.—*Dayā bhūteṣv aloluptvam*: Here both the Ācāryas have the same reading, Rāmānuja only proposing, in view of the admitted irregularity of the form *aloluptvam, alolutvam* as a

variant. Some Kashmir Mss. propose to read *alaulyam ca* for the same purpose. The reading *aloluptvam*, contracted form of *alolup(a)tvam*, has to be naturally preferred.

xvi. 8.—*Kimanyatkāmahaitukam.* Here the only difference between Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja concerns the syllable *hai* which Rāmānuja gives as *he.* Both forms can be defended. Incidentally, the *Tātparyacandrikā* mentions the Kashmir reading *akimeitkam ahetukam,* which is evidently intended to smooth of grammatical difficulty, and rejects it as being *aprasiddha.* Very few Mss. support it.

xvi. 13.—*See* vi. 39 above.

xvi. 24.—*Karma kartum ihārhasi* : For this Śāṅkara reading Rāmānuja seems to have read *karma 'kartum tvam arhasi.* Rāmānuja has no comment on "iha." The *Candrikā* however says—Ihetinirdeśaḥ karmādhikārabhūmipradarśanārthaḥ, karmavaśyāvasthātvajñāpako vā. This would mean that the Candrikākāra did not know that Rāmānuja did not read *iha.* Probably Rāmānuja read it but did not think it necessary to explain it.

xvii, 19.—*Parasyotsādanārtham vā* : For *vā* Rāmānuja reads *ca.* It is an immaterial variation on which no body has made any special comment.

xviii. 25.—*Anapekṣya,* read by Śaṅkara, is read as *anavekṣya* by Rāmānuja. See on this point the remark at vi. 7 above.

xviii. 44.—*Kṛsigaurakṣyavāṇijyam* : Śaṅkara read *gaurakṣyam* and Rāmānuja *gorakṣyam.* The forms have been differently derived. For sense the reading is immaterial, and the Mss. are not uniform.

xviii. 64.—*Iṣṭo'si me dṛḍham iti* : For *dṛḍham* (adverb) Rāmānuja reads *dṛḍhaḥ* (adjective), involving no difference in the general sense. Thc *Tātparyacandrikā*, however, assumes the reading to be *dṛḍham.*

* * * * *

Of the thirty cases of an actual difference of reading in the text of the *Bhagavadgītā* as commented upon by Śaṅkarācārya and Rāmānujācārya, six are cases of scribal misselection as between *pa* and *va*, *ta* and *na*, and *na* and *va*; four are due to alternative derivations of two equally valid and current forms; two to a different word-division; and one to a difference in word-order. Of the seventeen cases remaining, only ten cause an important difference in sense or otherwise deserve to be singled out for comment, viz., ii. 13, iii. 2, v. 21, vi. 13, vi. 39, ix. 18, x. 17, xiii. 11, xiii. 20, xvi. 13. Of these four (v. 21, vi. 39, xiii. 20, xvi. 13) are cases where Rāmānuja's reading is definitely secondary as it attempts to simplify a *lectio difficilior* as preserved by Śaṅkara. In the first and the last of these four cases Rāmānuja's reading agrees with the so-called Kashmir version. In three cases (ix. 18, x. 17, xiii. 11) the *Tātparyacandrikā* condemns the Śaṅkara reading as *aprasiddha* or *anārṣa*; but if Mss. are to be our guide, they would seem to favour the readings of Śaṅkara. There are two cases, ii. 13, and vi. 13, where there is a difference in meaning, but not of much consequence, and the Mss. evidence is not quite decisive. Lastly, there is one case, iii. 2, where Rāmānuja's reading is definitely superior and is also endorsed by the majority of reliable Mss.

It will be noted of course that the above inquiry was concerned only with difference in reading. As to difference in interpretation, that problem has not been touched here at all.

GLEANINGS FROM THE MATSYA PURĀṆA

ON

WAR AND PEACE.

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Happening to read the *Matsya Purāṇa* in the interval between the Munich agreement and the outbreak of the present war, I was struck by some striking analogies in thought and policy between the Purāṇic tales and the history of our own times and I think it may be of some interest to draw attention to them here.

The passages of the *Purāṇa* which I have in mind relate to incidents in the wars between the Devas and Asuras, not occurrences of human history. We generally think of the Devas as on the side of the Good, and of the Asuras as embodiments of Evil; but this simple view is apt to be disturbed seriously by some of the extracts that follow, which show the Asuras in a position of relative moral superiority to the Devas. This may be due to Devas being thought of as not too particular about the means they adopt for achieving admittedly noble ends, or it may be the relic of a past when the roles of the Devas and Asuras were the reverse of what we now take them to be; the Asuras are known as *pūrvadevas* (Devas of yore.)

NON-VIOLENCE

My first extract relates to the adoption of Non-violence as a policy by the Asuras. Śukra, their preceptor was the inventor of this policy, and he was much more fortunate than the modern prophets of non-violence, for his followers accepted the policy wholeheartedly and pursued it to the letter. Once

the Devas attacked the Asuras in great force ; their aim was to kill as many as possible, and drive the rest into the nether world, *pātāla*. The Asuras, unable to resist the onslaught, sought the help and guidance of their *guru*. After some time, noticing the decimation in the ranks of the Asuras, their Brahmin *guru* bethought himself of all the misfortunes of the Asuras in their earlier wars with the Devas, and said : " By his three strides Vāmana deprived you of the three worlds ; Bali was bound, and Jambha and Virocana killed. Many great Asuras have been destroyed by the Devas in the course of a dozen wars ; by various stratagems they have contrived to inflict the heaviest losses on you ; and there are only a few of you left still ; I rather think this war should stop. Times are against you, and you will do well to follow the policy I lay before you. I shall go to Mahādeva and secure from him the *mantras* that will ensure our eventual victory against our enemies ; but you shall not fight till then." Then the Asuras having come to an agreement among themselves told the Devas : " We have laid down arms, and we have no armour and no chariots ; we intend to put on robes of bark and enter the forests for penance." Hearing these words of Prahlāda, the Devas rejoiced and went back. Śukra then asked his followers to go and live in his father's hermitage for some time awaiting his return after his mission to Mahādeva.

The further stages of the story need not be followed here, but it must be stated that when the Devas subsequently discovered the real motive behind the 'peace-offensive' of the Asuras, they made no bones about attacking them even though they still kept up the farce of disarmament, and sought the protection of a woman, Śukra's mother, against the renewed attacks of the Devas.

WAR AGAINST CIVIL POPULATION

Indiscriminate attacks directed against the civil populations of belligerent countries have become the most dreaded feature of modern warfare. Spain and China ,are witnesses to

the horrors of this gruesome practice, and it is hardly a few days since Hitler passed the word for indiscriminate bombing of open cities in Poland. There is at least one conspicuous example of such totalitarian war in the stories of the *Purāṇa*. Rudra's war against the Tripura, the triple metal forts of the Asuras, was such a war; and in two very eloquent and moving passages (they form our extracts II and III) the poet has described the sufferings of women and children, husbands, brothers and sisters as their near and dear ones were being burned to death before their eyes. The ruin of fine buildings, beautiful gardens and great works of art is also pictured vividly. This wholesale destruction is undertaken by Agni, the god of fire, who goes round carrying out his cruel orders and to whom the women who are his victims address many touching appeals, which make the situtation ever more poignant. Agni's answer might well be that of many an airman to-day, that he did not like the job, but he was no free agent and only carrying out the behests of his superiors.

Appeasement

Critics of British foreign policy in recent years have often pointed out that it was a mistake to have allowed Germany to rearm while other nations were following a half-hearted policy of partial disarmament, in the vague hope that somehow war might be avoided. The result was seen about a year ago when the British premier found himself forced to follow 'appeasement' in Munich in the face of a determined enemy with consequences that are not any more in doubt.

In a similar situation, the policy to be followed by the Devas was laid down categorically and with clear logic by their wise counsellor Bṛhaspati. The great Asura, Tāraka, after consolidating his power over the rest of the Universe, was advancing on an aggressive campaign against the abode of the gods, whose happiness excited in him feelings more or less similar to those that the prosperity of the Jews produces in Hitler and his friends. Vāyu, descrying the approach of

Tāraka's forces from a distance, went and reported it in Indra's assembly. Indra applied to Bṛhaspati for advice on the policy to be followed by the gods. Bṛhaspati's answer (our extract IV) perhaps contains nothing extraordinary, and might have been passed over, ordinarily, as a string of commonplaces; but now it seems replete with a wisdom that the world has missed in the last few years. He said: 'Ancient tradition favours peaceful negotiation as the first instrument of policy for one who desires ultimate success. But everything depends on the place, time, and the nature of the enemy. A cruel and covetous enemy, intoxicated with self-confidence, will not be amenable to friendly negotiation. The Asuras have enormous faith in themselves, and there is no peace in their heart; and you cannot create dissensions among them by presents or otherwise, for they have all they want. To fight them is your only course. A policy of peace adopted towards the wicked leads to disaster. The pacific aims of noble men are mistaken by the wicked to be the result of fear; a manly course is the only thing that would impress such a foe, who never responds to a policy of peace. Even the good have to put aside their goodness for a time on such occasions.' Indra accepted the advice and prepared for war.

EXTRACT I

ततो देवास्तु तान् दृष्ट्वा वृतान् काव्येन धीमता ।
संमन्त्रयन्ति देवा वै संविग्नास्तु जिघृक्षया ॥ ६६.

काव्यो ह्येष इदं सर्वं व्यावर्तयति नो बलात् ।
साधु गच्छामहे तूर्णं यावन्नाध्यापयिष्यति ॥ ६७.

प्रसह्य हत्वा शिष्टांस्तु पातालं प्रापयामहे ।
ततो देवास्तु संरब्धा दानवानुपसृत्य ह ॥ ६८.

ततस्ते वध्यमानास्तु काव्यमेवाभिदुद्रुवुः ।
ततः काव्यस्तु तान् दृष्ट्वा तूर्णं देवैरभिद्रुतान् ॥ ६९.

रक्षां काव्येन संहृत्य देवास्तेऽप्यसुरार्दिताः ।
काव्यं दृष्ट्वा स्थितं देवा निःशङ्कमसुरान् जहुः ॥ ७०.

ततः काव्योऽनुचिन्त्याथ ब्राह्मणो वचनं हितम् ।
तानुवाच ततः काव्यः पूर्वं वृत्तमनुस्मरन् ॥ ७१.

त्रैलोक्यं वो हृतं सर्वं वामनेन त्रिभिः क्रमैः ।
बलिर्बद्धो हतो जम्भो निहतश्च विरोचनः ॥ ७२.

महासुरा द्वादशसु संग्रामेषु सुरैर्हताः ।
तैस्तैरुपायैर्भूयिष्ठं निहता वः प्रधानतः ॥ ७३.

किञ्चिच्छिष्टास्तु यूयं वै युद्धं मास्त्विति मे मतम् ।
नीतिं यां वोऽभिधास्यामि तिष्ठध्वं कालपर्ययात् ॥ ७४.

यास्याम्यहं महादेवं मन्त्रार्थं विजयावहम् ।
अप्रतीपांस्ततो मन्त्रान् देवात् प्राप्य महेश्वरात् ॥
युध्यामहे पुनर्देवांस्ततः प्राप्स्यथ वै जयम् ॥ ७५.

ततस्ते कृतसंवादा देवानूचुस्तदासुराः ।
न्यस्तशस्त्रा वयं सर्वे निःसन्नाहा रथैर्विना ॥ ७६.

वयं तपश्चरिष्यामः संवृता वल्कलैर्वने ।
प्रह्लादस्य वचः श्रुत्वा सत्याभिव्याहृतं तु तत् ॥ ७७.

ततो देवा न्यवर्तन्त विज्वरा मुदिताश्च ते ।
न्यस्तशस्त्रेषु दैत्येषु विनिवृत्तास्तदा सुराः ॥ ७८.

ततस्तानब्रवीत् काव्यः कञ्चित् कालमुपास्यथ ।
निरुत्सिक्तास्तपोयुक्ताः कालं कार्यार्थसाधकम् ॥ ७९.

पितुर्ममाश्रमस्था वै मां प्रतीक्षथ दानवाः ।
तत् संदिश्यासुरान् काव्यो महादेवं प्रपद्यत ॥ ८०.

Ch. 47 vv. 66–80

EXTRACT II

काचित् प्रियं परित्यज्य अशक्ता गन्तुमन्यतः ।
पुरः प्रियस्य पञ्चत्वं गताग्निवदने क्षयम् ॥ ६०.

उवाच शतपत्राक्षी सास्राक्षीव कृताञ्जलिः ।
हव्यवाहन ! भार्याहं परस्य परतापन ! ॥
धर्मसाक्षी त्रिलोकस्य न मां स्प्रष्टुमिहार्हसि ॥ ६१.

शायितं च मया देव ! शिवया च शिवप्रभ ! ।
परेण प्रैहि मुक्त्वेदं गृहं च दयितं हि मे ॥ ६२.

एका पुत्रमुपादाय बालकं दानवाङ्गना ।
हुताशनसमीपस्था इत्युवाच हुताशनम् ॥ ६३.

बालोऽयं दुःखलब्धश्च मया पावक ! पुत्रकः ।
नार्हस्येनमुपादातुं दयितं षण्मुखप्रिय ! ॥ ६४.

काश्चित् प्रियान् परित्ज्य पीडिता दानवाङ्गनाः ।
न्यपतन्नर्णवजले शिञ्जमानविभूषणाः ॥ ६५.

तात ! पुत्रेति मातेति मातुलेति च विह्वलम् ।
चक्रन्दुस्त्रिपुरे नार्यः पावकज्वालवेपिताः ॥ ६६.

यथा दहति शैलाग्निः साम्बुजं जलजाकरम् ।
तथा स्त्रीवक्त्रपद्मानि चादहत् त्रिपुरेऽनलः ॥ ६७.

तुषारराशिः कमलाकराणां
यथा दहत्यम्बुजकानि शीते ।
तथैव सोऽग्निस्त्रिपुराङ्गनानां
ददाह वक्त्रेक्षणपङ्कजानि ॥ ६८.

शराग्निपातात् समभिद्रुतानां
तत्राङ्गनानामतिकोमलानाम् ।
बभूव काञ्चीगुणनूपुराणाम्
आक्रन्दितानां च रवोऽतिमिश्र. ॥ ६९.

दग्धार्धचन्द्राणि सवेदिकानि
विशीर्णहर्म्याणि सतोरणानि ।
दग्धानि दग्धानि गृहाणि तत्र
पतन्ति रक्षार्थमिवार्णवौघे ॥ ७०.

Ch. 140. vv 60–70.

EXTRACT III

अम्लानपङ्कजच्छन्ना विस्तीर्णा योजनायताः ।
गिरिकूटनिभास्तत्र प्रासादा रत्नभूषिताः ॥ २९.

पतन्त्यनलनिर्दग्धा निस्तोया जलदा इव ।
वरस्त्रीबालवृद्धेषु गोषु पक्षिषु वाजिषु ॥ ३०.

निर्दयो व्यदहद्वह्निर्हरक्रोधेन प्रेरितः ।
सहस्रशः प्रबुद्धाश्च सुप्ताश्च बहवो जनाः ॥ ३१.

पुत्रमालिङ्ग्य ते गाढं दह्यन्ते त्रिपुराग्निना ।
निदाघोऽभून्महावह्नेरन्तकालो यथा तथा ॥ ३२.

केचिद् गुप्ताः प्रदग्धास्तु भार्योत्सङ्गगतास्तथा ।
पित्रा मात्रा च सुश्लिष्टा दग्धास्ते त्रिपुराग्निना ॥
अथ तस्मिन् पुरे दीप्ते स्त्रियश्चाप्सरसोपमाः ॥ ३३.

अग्निज्वालाहतास्तत्र ह्यपतन् धरणीतले ।
काचिच्छ्यामा विशालाक्षी मुक्तावलिविभूषिता ॥ ३४ .

धूमेनाकुलिता सा तु पतिता धरणीतले ।
काचित् कनकवर्णाभा इन्द्रनीलविभूषिता ॥ ३५.

भर्तारं पतितं दृष्ट्वा पतिता तस्य चोपरि ।
काचिदादित्यसंकाशा प्रसुप्ता च गृहे स्थिता ॥ ३६.

अग्निज्वालाहता सा तु पतिता गतचेतना ।
उत्थितो दानवस्तत्र खड्गहस्तो महाबलः ॥ ३७.

वैश्वानरहतः सोऽपि पतितो धरणीतले ।
मेघवर्णापरा नारी हारकेयूरभूषिता ॥ ३८.

श्वेतवस्त्रपरीधाना बालं स्तन्यं न्यधापयत् ।
दह्यन्तं बालकं दृष्ट्वा रुदती मेघशब्दवत् ॥ ३९.

एवं स तु दहन्नग्निर्हरक्रोधेन प्रेरितः ।
काचिच्चन्द्रप्रभा सौम्या वज्रवैडूर्यभूषिता ॥ ४०.

सुतमालिङ्ग्य वेपन्ती दग्धा पतति भूतले ।
काचित् कुन्देन्दुवर्णाभा क्रीडन्ती स्वगृहे स्थिता ॥ ४१.

गृहे प्रज्वलिते सा तु प्रतिबुद्धा शिखार्दिता ।
पश्यन्ती ज्वलितं सर्वं हा सुतो मे कथं गतः ॥ ४२.

सुतं सन्दग्धमालिङ्ग्य पतिता धरणीतले ।
आदित्योदयवर्णाभा लक्ष्मीवदनशोभना ॥ ४३.

त्वरिता दह्यमाना सा पतिता धरणीतले ।
काचित् सुवर्णवर्णाभा नीलरत्नैर्विभूषिता ॥ ४४.

धूमेनाकुलिता सा तु प्रसुप्ता धरणीतले ।
अन्या गृहीतहस्ता तु सखि ! दह्यति बालिका ॥ ४५.

अनेकादिश्यरत्नाढ्या दृष्ट्वा दहनमोहिता ।
शिरसि ह्यन्जलिं कृत्वा विज्ञापयति पावकम् ॥ ४६.

भगवन् यदि वैरं ते पुरुषेष्वपकारिषु ।
स्त्रियः किमपराध्यन्ति गृहपञ्जरकोकिलाः ॥ ४७.

पाप ! निर्दय ! निर्लज्ज ! कस्ते कोपः स्त्रियः प्रति ।
न दाक्षिण्यं न ते लज्जा न सत्यं शौर्यवर्जित ! ॥ ४८.

अनेन ह्युपसर्गेण तूपालम्भं शिखिन्यदात् ।
किं त्वया न श्रुतं लोके ह्यवध्याः शत्रुयोषितः ॥ ४९.

किन्तु तुभ्यं गुणा ह्येते दहनोत्सादनं प्रति ।
न कारुण्यं भयं वापि दाक्षिण्यं न स्त्रियः प्रति ॥ ५०.

दयां कुर्वन्ति म्लेच्छापि दहन्तीं वीक्ष्य योषितम् ।
म्लेच्छानामपि कष्टोऽसि दुर्निवारो ह्यचेतनः ॥ ५१.

एते चैव गुणास्तुभ्यं दहनोत्सादनं प्रति ।
आसामपि दुराचार ! स्त्रीणां किन्ते निपातने ॥ ५२.

दुष्ट ! निर्घृण ! निर्लज्ज ! हुताशिन् ! मन्दभाग्यक ! ।
निराशस्त्वं दुरावास ! बलाद्दहसि निर्दय ! ॥ ५३.

एवं विलपमानास्ता जल्पन्त्यश्च बहून्यपि ।
अन्याः क्रोशन्ति संक्रुद्धा बालशोकेन मोहिताः ॥ ५४.

दहते निर्दयो वह्निः संक्रुद्धः पूर्वशत्रुवत् ।
पुष्करिण्यां जलं दग्धं कूपेष्वपि तथैव च ॥ ५५.

अस्मान्संदह्य म्लेच्छ ! त्वं कां गतिं प्रापयिष्यसि ।
एवं प्रलपितं तासां श्रुत्वा देवो विभावसुः ॥ ५६.

मूर्तिमान् सहसोत्थाय वह्निर्वचनमब्रवीत् ।
स्ववशो नैव युष्माकं विनाशं तु करोम्यहम् ।
अहमादेशकर्ता वै नाहं कर्तास्म्यनुग्रहम् ॥ ५७.

Ch. 188 vv. 29–57.

EXTRACT IV

इन्द्र उवाच—

संप्राप्तोऽतिविमर्दोऽयं देवानां दानवैः सह ।
कार्यं किमत्र तद् ब्रूहि नीत्युपायसमन्वितम् ॥ ६३.

एतच्छ्रुत्वा तु वचनं महेन्द्रस्य गिरां पतिः ।
इत्युवाच महाभागो बृहस्पतिरुदारधीः ॥ ६४.

सामपूर्वा स्मृता नीतिश्चतुरङ्गा पताकिनी ।
जिगीषतां सुरश्रेष्ठ ! स्थितिरेषा सनातनी ॥ ६५.

साम भेदस्तथा दानं दण्डश्चाङ्गचतुष्टयम् ।
नीतौ क्रमाद्देशकालरिपुयोग्यक्रमादिदम् ॥ ६६.

न शान्तिगोचरो लुब्धः क्रूरो लब्धसमाश्रयः ।
संतापितः खलो याति साध्यतां भ्रष्टसंशयः ॥ ६७.

साम दैत्येषु नैवास्ति यतस्ते लब्धसंश्रयाः ।
जातिधर्मेण वाऽभेद्या दानं प्राप्तश्रिये च किम् ॥ ६८.

एकोऽभ्युपायो दण्ड्योऽत्र भवतां यदि रोचते ।
दुर्जनेषु कृतं साम महद्याति च वन्ध्यताम् ॥ ६९.

भयादिति व्यवस्यन्ति क्रूराः साम महात्मनाम् ।
ऋजुतामार्यबुद्धित्वं दयानीतिव्यतिक्रमम् ॥ ७०.

मन्यन्ते दुर्जना नित्यं साम चापि भयोदयात् ।
तस्माद्दुर्जनमाक्रान्तुं श्रेयान् पौरुषसंश्रयः ॥ ७१.

आक्रान्ते तु क्रिया युक्ता सतामेतन्महाव्रतम् ।
दुर्जनः सुजनत्वाय कल्पते न कदाचन ॥ ७२.

सुजनोऽपि स्वभावस्य त्यागं वाञ्छेत् कदाचन ।
एवं मे बुध्यते बुद्धिर्यूयमत्र व्यवस्यत ॥ ७३.

Ch. 148. vv. 63–73.

VISVADARSA AND ITS COMMENTARY VIVARAṆA

BY

KAVIKĀNTA SARASVATĪ

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I propose in this paper to record and describe a new Ms. of the *dharmaśāstra* work, *Viśvādarśa* and its commentary called the *Vivaraṇa* by Kavikāntasarasvatī and also to decide the date of this author on the strength of new evidence discovered by me since (1) the description of Mss. of this work by Prof. H. D. Velankar in 1928, (2) the notice of this work by Prof. P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* in 1930 and (3) the publication of a critical edition of the Text of this work by Mr. Tenkshe in 1938.

In the Introduction to the text of the *Viśvādarśa*[1] of Kavikāntasarasvatī[2] published by Mr. S. A. Tenkshe in the *Journal of the Bombay University*[3] he has made use of *seven* Mss. *six* of which belong to the University of Bombay and *one* to the B. B. R. A. Society, Townhall, Bombay. All these Mss.[4] have

1. Vide p. 229 of H. D. Velankar's *Cat. of B.B.R.A.S. Mss.* Part II.

2. According to Prof. Velankar Kavikāntasarasvatī flourished towards *the close of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century.*

3. Vol. VII (New Series) (Part 2)—Sept. 1938—pp. 65-98.

4. Aufrecht (*CC*, I, 586) makes the following entry in his *Catalogue* re. the *Viśvādarśa* :—

विश्वादर्श dh. by Kavikāntasarasvatī. Divided into आचारकाण्ड, व्यवहारकाण्ड, प्रायश्चितकाण्ड Khn. 80.

B. 3, 120 (and comm.) Oudh 1876, 12, p. 11.

Lahore 1882, 5. Quoted by Hemādri in परिशेषखंड, 2, 112, by

been described by Mr. Tenkshe under *The Critical Apparatus* (pp. 65–70 of *Introduction.*) The first two of these Mss. *viz.* I-A and II B belonging to the Bhadkambkar Collection of the University also contain the Commentary written by the author. Mr. Tenkshe states "This Commentary was of immense use to me in fixing up the readings of the Text. Naturally as a rule, I have followed the readings adopted in the Commentary."

In view of the importance of the commentary as indicated above it is necessary that the commentary should be edited critically and for this purpose efforts should be made to gather Mss. of the *Viśvādarśa* containing this commentary in addition to the two rare Mss.[1] in the Bombay University Collection.

Nṛsiṁha in प्रयोगपारिजात, by Raghunandana in एकादशीतत्त्वम्, by Kamalākara in निर्णयसिंधु.

Viśvādarśavivaraṇa (/y ?) by Ādityakavikrānta (?) K. 242.

Viśvādarśoktanakṣatravidhāna, W. p. 352.

विश्वादर्शस्मृति B. 3, 120. Most likely identical with the *Viśvādarśa.*

CC, II, 139—"विश्वादर्श dh. by Kavikāntasarasvatī, Stein 102."

CC, III, 123,—"विश्वादर्श dh. Divided into आचारकाण्ड, व्यवहारकाण्ड, प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड, ज्ञानकाण्ड. By Kavikāntasarasvatī, CS 2, 488. Whether CS 2, 132 belongs to this work is doubtful.

Viśvādarśe Pravaranirṇayaḥ, CS 2, 476.

The *Cat. of Oriental Mss,* Ujjain (1936) pp. 30-31 records one Ms. of the विश्वादर्श (No. 771—1090) dated *Śaka 1778=A.D. 1856.*

The *Punjab University Mss. Cat.* Vol. I (1932) p, 101 records one Ms. of the work viz. No. 577 ("4 कांड").

It may be noted here that the Jammu Ms. of the विश्वादर्श (Stein 102) is dated *Saṁvat 1641=A.D. 1585.* It contains 19 leaves (leaves 1 and 2 missing). It is older by 140 years than the best Ms. used by Mr. Tenkshe which is dated *A.D. 1720* (MS-IA).

1. A brief description of these Mss. as given by Mr. Tenkshe may be noted here:—

I. A—72 folios. Size :—11½″×5½″, 12 to 13 lines to a page and about 38 letters to a line. Contains *first three Kāṇḍas with the*

I propose, therefore, to bring to the notice of Mr. Tenkshe the following Ms. of the commentary which was acquired by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in 1938 :—

This Ms. belongs to the Limaye Collection[1] of the Institute. According to the folio numbers the Ms. consists of leaves one to ninety-one serially numbered but these numbers are entered

commentary. As the Ms. contains the commentary it has the St. जयति etc., in the beginning. The *1st Kāṇḍa* contains 41 stanzas and though it contains the 42nd St as in the prepared edition it is not marked. The *2nd Kāṇḍa* contains all the stanzas in the edition printed. It makes only first 40 stanzas and the 44th St. followed by an index of the 1st and 3rd chapters. This Ms. is *one of the best Mss.* used by the editor. It was copied by the scribe R. B. Devasthali in Śaka 1642=A.D. 1720.

II. B—101 folios. size :—12″×4″. Each page has 9 lines and each line contains about 44 letters; carefully written. The Ms. has *3 Kāṇḍas of the Text and Commentary* and ends with a short summary of the *Ācāra-kāṇḍa.*

The extent of the Text in the edition may be indicated here :—

1.	*Sadācāra-kāṇḍa*	42 stanzas.
2.	*Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*	45 „
3.	*Prāyaścitta-kāṇḍa*	49 „
4.	*Jñāna-kāṇḍa*	53 „
		189 stanzas.

1. This collection consists of about 450 Mss. which were mainly collected by Sakhopant Anant Limaye Phaḍṇīs of Aṣṭe (Satara District) between A.D. 1800 and 1840 (vide: *Annals* of the B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XX, p. 39, footnotes 1 and 2). Sakho Anant was the patron of Vāñceśvarayajvan alias Kuṭṭikavi, the author of the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi.* His family hailed originally from the village Someśvara in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. The Limayes are Chitpāvan Brahmins of *Kapi gotra* and belong to the *Hiranyakeśī-śākhā.* Kuṭṭikavi composed his commentary on the *Hiraṇyakeśisūtra* (between A.D. 1816 and 1828) by the order of Sakho Anant Limaye who was in the employ of Sardar Mahādevabhaṭṭa Patvardhan, the son of the celebrated Paraśurāmbhau Patvardhan, the ancestor of the present Raja of Saṅgli (S.M.C.). Paraśurāmbhau was killed in A.D. 1799 in a battle with the then Mahārāja of Kolhapur.

apparently by a later hand as the commentary for the first thirty-two verses of *Kāṇḍa I* appears to have been lost. Folio No. 1 begins :—

" नैपालकम्बलस्य तु सारिष्टफलैः ॥ अतसीतन्तुमयस्य गौरसर्षपसहितैः शुद्धिः गौमूत्रोदकैः इति सर्वथानुवर्तते etc. Text :—रेतो विण्मूत्रमज्जास्थिभिरिह यदक्तं वासितं तैजसं तद्....क्षेपणेन ३४ अस्थार्थः etc."

Folio 9 contains verse 42 of *Kāṇḍa I* and also its commentary which ends on folio 11 as follows :—

" इति श्रीगीतार्थप्रवीणश्रीभट्टाचार्यादित्यसुतकविकान्तसरस्वतीरित विश्वादर्शाख्यधर्मशास्त्रविवरणे सदाचारकांडः प्रथमः समाप्तः "

Folio 36.—Colophon of *Kāṇḍa II*— " इति श्री गीतार्थप्रवीण ... विवरणे व्यवहारकांडे द्वितीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः "

Folio 64 contains a quotation from स्मृत्यर्थसार as follows :—

" स्मृत्यर्थसारः[1] ॥

प्रारम्भादूर्ध्वमाशौचे विवाहः कार्य एव तु ।
प्रारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे संकल्पो व्रतसत्रयोः ? ॥

1. The स्मृत्यर्थसार mentioned and quoted by our author in his विवरण is not included in the list of *smṛtis* on which he has based his work. This list as recorded by Prof. Velankar (p. 230 of the *Catalogue of the B. B. R. A. S. Mss.* Vol II) is as follows:—

" अङ्गिराः, आपस्तम्ब, आश्वलायन, उशनाः, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, कात्यायन, कौशिक, गोभिल, गौतम, जातूकर्ण्य, दक्ष, देवल, नारद, पैठीनसि, पैङ्ग्य, प्रचेतस्, बृहस्पति, बौधायन, मनु, मरीचि, मार्कण्डेय, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, योगयाज्ञवल्क्य, लौगाक्षि, वत्स, वसिष्ठ, विष्णु, वृद्धवसिष्ठ, व्याघ्रपाद, व्यास, शङ्ख, शातातप, षट्त्रिंशन्मत and हारीत "

The *Purāṇas* and *Nibandhakāras* referred to in the *Viśvādarśa* are :—

भविष्य, मार्कण्डेय, वायु, विष्णु and स्कन्द, धारेश्वर, भट्टाचार्य, मेधातिथि, विज्ञानेश्वर, विश्वरूप, and शारीरकभाष्य,

नान्दीश्राद्धौ विवाहादौ श्राद्ध पाकपरिक्रिया ।
निमन्त्रणं वा श्राद्धेषु प्रारम्भः स्यादिति स्मृतेः ॥

Folio 70.—Colophon of *Kāṇḍa III*—

"इति गीतार्थप्रवीण ... विवरणे प्रायश्चित्तकाण्डं तृतीयम्"

The Fourth *Kāṇḍa*—Commentary begins at the end of folio 70-*b* and ends on folio 91-*b* covering twent-one leaves. The beginning of this commentary for the fourth *Kāṇḍa* is as follows :

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीकालिकायै नमः । श्रीपाण्डुरङ्गाय नमः ॥
उक्तं तृतीयकाण्डे प्रायश्चित्तं हि चित्तशुद्ध्यर्थं ... ब्रह्म-
चर्यं वसेत् । अस्यार्थः"

Folio 91.—The commentary ends as follows :—

"इति श्रीगीतार्थप्रवीण ... ... विवरणे ज्ञानकाण्डश्चतुर्थः समाप्तः । संवत् १८१२ (letters indistinct)

From the description of the Manuscript recorded above it is clear that the Manuscript contains the commentary *Vivaraṇa* (by the author) for all the four *Kāṇḍas*, except the commentary on the first thirty-two verses of *Kāṇḍa I.* In particular the commentary on the fourth *Kāṇḍa* is complete[1] in this Baroda Oriental Research Institute Manuscript while it is absent in the only two Manuscripts of the commentary at the Bombay University which contain commentary for the first three *Kāṇḍas* only. The best Manuscript of the Text with the commentary used by Mr. Tenkshe *viz.*, *IA* is dated *A.D. 1720* while the Baroda Oriental Research Institute Manuscript containing the commentary for the fourth *Kāṇḍa* also is dated *Saṁvat 1812* = *A.D. 1756 i.e.*, later by about thirty-

1. Speaking of the incomplete Mss. of the *Viśvādarśa*, Prof. Velankar observes :—"Two of these Mss. contain all the four *Kāṇḍas* while the third contains only three like the Mss. noticed at *CC.* I. p. 586. The fourth *Kāṇḍa* was not usually copied out as it treats of Philosophy rather than *Dharma*." (Vide 229 of *Catalogue of B.B.R.A.S. Mss.* 1928).

six years than the Manuscript *IA* of Mr. Tenkshe's edition of the *Viśvādarśa.* We have, therefore, to record the following dated Manuscripts of the *Viśvādarśa* and its commentary :—

Source.	Text. T	Commentary. C	Date of Ms.	Portion.
1. Bombay University Library (Bhad. Collection.)	T	C	A. D. 1720.	Kāṇḍas I, II, III.
2. B. O. R. Institute (Limaye Collection.)	T	C	A. D. 1756.	Kāṇḍas I (frag.) II, III, IV.
3. Jammu Mss. (Stein 10-2)	T	...	A. D. 1585	

Any scholar interested in the editing of the *Viśvādarśa-vivaraṇa* would find his work facilitated if he makes use of the three Manuscripts of this commentary now available. He may also profit by the use of the Jammu Manuscript of the Text of the *Viśvādarśa*, not utilized by Mr. Tenkshe in his edition.

I now turn to the question of the exact date of the *Viśvādarśa* and its commentary and record below the earlier views of scholars on this question :—

(1) According to Prof. H. D. Velankar[1] " Our author alludes to Vijñāneśvara, author of the *Mitākṣarā*." " The

1. *Cat of B. B. R. A. S. Mss.* 1928 p. 229. Kavikānta was " a follower of the *Advaita* School of *Vedānta* and a pious devotee of Rāma and Viśveśvara of Benares." He was patronized by a prince called Dhanyarāja, son of Nāgārjuna. Prof. Velankar thinks that " Dhanyarāja was very probably a ruling prince of Benares."

earliest author who quotes our author is Hemādri in *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, Pariśeṣakhaṇḍa, pt. 2, p. 112"..." *Viśvādarśa* was also used in the composition of his *Kālādarśa* by Ādityabhaṭṭa. *Kālādarśa* again is quoted in *Kālamādhava* (See I. O. No. 1655). The manner in which our author refers to Vijñāneśvara shows that he was separated from him at least by a hundred years.

Our author, therefore, must have flourished towards the *close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.*"

(2) According to Prof. P. V. Kane,[1] our author is "*later than 1100 A.D. and earlier than 1200.*"

I shall now record my evidence on the question of Kavi-kānta's date. In my description of the Baroda Oriental Research Institute Manuscripts of the *Viśvādarśa* with *Vivaraṇa* I have reproduced an extract from the *Vivaraṇa* (fol. 64) which consists of two verses from a work स्मृत्यर्थसार as mentioned by the author. Prof. Kane mentions three different works[2] of the name स्मृत्यर्थसार. I have succeeded in identifying the two verses from the स्मृत्यर्थसार mentioned as such and quoted by Kavikānta. They are identical with the following verses in श्रीधर's स्मृत्यर्थसार[3]:—

" प्रारम्भादूर्ध्वमाशौचे विवाहः कार्य (v. l. काय) एव तु ।
प्रारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे संकल्पो व्रतसत्रयोः (v. l. यो) ॥

1. *History* of *Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1930, B. O. R. I.) pp. 624-5. Prof. Kane states that the विश्वादर्श is referred to by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by देवणभट्ट (Mysore ed. p. 164). देवणभट्ट flourished *after A.D. 1150* and *befor A.D. 1225* (Kane, ibid, p. 346).

2. Ibid, p. 674,—(1) स्मृत्यर्थसार by नीलकण्ठाचार्य (C. P. Cat. No. 6733), (2) स्मृत्यर्थसार by मुकुन्दलाल and (3) स्मृत्यर्थसार by श्रीधर. (Section 81 of Prof. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*.)

3. Vide p. 17 of *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdharācārya, Ed. by Vaidya Raṅganātha Śāstri (*Ānandāśrama Sans. Series*, No. 70), Poona, 1912. The variants in the brackets pointed out by me are more or less scribal errors in the B. O. R. I. Ms.

नान्दीश्राद्धं (ध्दौ v. 1.) विवाहादौ श्राद्धे पाकपरिक्रिया ।
निमन्त्रणं वा श्राद्धे तु (षु v. 1,) प्रारम्भः स्यादिति स्मृतिः (तेः v. 1.) ॥

It is, therefore, certain that Kavikānta used Śrīdhara's *Smṛtyarthāsāra* and no other work of the same name. Now as regards the date of Śrīdhara, Prof. Kane[1] observes as follows :—

"the *Śmṛtyarthasāra* must have been composed between *1150 and 1200 A.D.*"

In view of the above date assigned by Prof. Kane to the *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara and in view of the fact that Kavikāntasarasvatī quotes from and mentions this work in his commentary of the self-composed *Viśvādarśa*, I am inclined to hold the view that he flourished *between A.D. 1200 and 1230.* This view agrees with one of the alternatives suggested by Prof. Velankar that our author belongs to "*the beginning of the 13th Century.*" If an author quotes a work composed between A.D. 1150 and 1200 and is quoted by a subsequent author in his work *(Caturvargacintāmaṇi)* "composed between 1260 and 1270 A.D." according to Prof. Kane, the period —*1200 and 1230 A.D.* assigned for him by me would be considered reasonable. This view also harmonizes with Devaṇabhaṭṭa's reference to the *Viśvādarśa* as pointed out by Prof. Kane. If Devaṇabhaṭṭa flourished between 1150 and 1225 A.D. according to Prof. Kane his reference to the *Viśvādarśa* (1200 and 1230 A.D.) may warrant an inference that the author of the *Viśvādarśa* was a senior contemporary of the author of the *Smṛticandrikā.*

The three views regarding the date of the *Viśvādarśa* and its *Vivaraṇa* may now be tabulated as follows :—

1. *History of Dharmaśāstra.* I, p. 337—"The date of the *Smṛtyarthasāra* can be fixed within approximate limits. As it names the *Mitākṣarā*, the *Kāmadhenu*, the *Kalpataru* and *Govindarāja* it is later than 1150 A.D. The *Smṛticandrikā* and *Hemādri* both quote it as an authority."

Prof. Velankar's view.	Prof. Kane's view.	My view.
"Close of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century."	"Later than 1100 and earlier than 1200."	"Between 1200 and 1230 A.D."

PS.—Since the above paper was sent to the press I noticed the following entry about a Manuscript of the *Viśvādarśa* with the *Vivaraṇa* on p. 141 of the *Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States of America and Canada* by H. I. Poleman, New Haven, Conn. 1938 :—

" 2833. *Viśvādarśa* with the Commentary. 95 ff. II. 25×5 25. 8-12 lines, UP 1632."

This Manuscript is available in the University of Pennsylvania Library (Philadelphia, U. S. A.). It is difficult to say on the basis of the above catalogue entry if the commentary covers up all the *four Kāṇḍas* of the Text of the *Viśvādarśa* of Kavikāntasarasvatī. Scholars interested in a critical edition of this commentary may inquire of the Librarian of the above Library and elicit the required information.

THE BHALLAṬA ŚATAKA

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The ideal of literature as criticism of life is realized to the greatest extent in the special category of Sanskrit literature called the *Anyāpadeśaśataka.* The *Anyāpadeśaśataka* as a form of literature is a development from the *Anyāpadeśā* in the *Vākya*, that is the *Alaṅkāra* of *Aprastutapraśaṁsā* or *Anyokti.* We are not able at present to fix the earliest writer who composed an *Anyāpadeśaśataka.* By the time of Ānandavardhana (middle of the ninth century), composing *Anyāpadeśas* had become fashionable and we find Ānanda himself quoting some *Anyāpadeśas* and one by himself in his *Dhvanyāloka.* But the earliest collection of such *Anyāpadeśa* verses which has come to us is the *Śataka* of poet Bhallaṭa, known as the *Bhallaṭaśataka.* It is clear from a perusal of the verses in this *Bhallaṭaśataka* that the form *Anyāpadeśaśataka* had not yet hardened sufficiently to exclude from a collection of that type some verses violating the strict rules of an *Anyāpadeśaśloka.* The point can be realized by referring to verses 5 and 69[1] of the *Śataka* which Mahimabhaṭṭa cites in his *Vyaktiviveka*[2] as illustrations of the flaw of' '*Adhikapada*'—" Superfluous words " which in both cases prevent the verses from attaining the character of *Anyāpadeśa* in full. After Bhallaṭa the *Anyāpadeśaśataka* became very popular, and except in the case of a few, the productions became mechanical.

An *Anyāpadeśa* with life and point comes naturally only

1. Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka, IV.
2. TSS edn. p. 104. See also Mammaṭa, *K. Pra.* TSS edn. II, p. 447 and Hemacandra *K. Anu.*, K. M.edn. pp. 142-3.

from deep and poignant experience. Such experience poet Bhallaṭa had. We know from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that poet Bhallaṭa was a contemporary of king Śaṅkaravarman of Kāshmir, A.D. 883-902, son and successor of Avantivarman. Avantivarman's rule was exemplary; under him flourished eminent poets and writers like Muktākaṇa, Śivasvāmī, Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara. Kalhaṇa closes his account of Avantivarman by comparing him to Māndhātā and his era to the Kṛta age. After his death, there were a number of small people making a bid for the throne. Is it not to this circumstance that Bhaṭṭa-Bhallaṭa is referring when he says "When the sun is no more, is it not sufficiently laughable that the moon is going to bear the burden of relieving the world of the oppression of darkness? And is it not tragic that, besides the moon, chimneys pop up and pose as destroyers of darkness?"

गते तस्मिन् भानौ त्रिभुवनसमुन्मेषविरह-
व्यथां चन्द्रो नेष्यत्यनुचितमतो नास्त्यसदृशम् ।
इदं चेतस्तापं जनयतितरामत्र यदमी
प्रदीपाः सञ्जातास्तिमिरहतिबद्धोद्धुरशिखाः ॥

Śl. 12. K. M. edn.

The same circumstance of lesser men stepping into the place vacated by Avantivarman is the object of Bhallaṭa's reflection in verse 10—**पातः पूष्णो भवति महते नोपतापाय यस्मात्** etc.

Śaṅkaravarman soon turned a tyrant. He annexed temple properties, levied heavy taxes on the villages and created two new revenue departments for his personal benefit. A swarm of *kāyasthas* overran the poor villages, impoverished them and filled the domestic coffers of the king. A porter named Lavaṭa rose to the position of King's Treasurer, (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 177) and drew the salary of two thousand *dīnāras*, when eminent poets like Bhallaṭa rotted and had to undertake despicable work for their livelihood. With people such as porter Lavaṭa around him, Śaṅkaravarman delighted in talking slang,

dismissing Sanskrit from his court. The miser never gave anything to the deserving.

त्यागभीरुतया तस्मिन् गुणिसङ्गपराङ्मुखे ।
आसेवन्तावरा वृत्तीः कवयो भल्लटादयः ॥

निर्वेतनास्सुकवयः भाटिको लवटस्त्वभूत् ।
प्रसादात्तस्य दीनारसहस्रद्वयवेतनः ॥

कल्पपालकुले जन्म तत्तैनैव प्रमाणितम् ।
क्षीबोचितापभ्रंशोक्तेः दैवी वाग् यस्य नाभवत् ॥

Rājataraṅgiṇī, V. 204-6.

When in verse 59 and 60 Bhallaṭa speaks of worthless things like straw and the wretched street-dust fit only to be crushed by the feet soaring up and getting on top of high mansions and great mountains thanks to a fickle wind that kicks them up, whom else is Bhallaṭa hitting than porter Lavaṭa who was treasurer on two thousand *dīnāras* in Śaṅkaravarman's court? "The peacocks that danced beautifully and the parrots that recited sweetly are dismissed; the crow has won the favour of the house by its viles and is freely enjoying the food" laments verse 21, and do we not see in this picture the court which once honoured Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana now become the abode of slangsters like Lavaṭa. Verse 20 portraying the sneaky crow certainly represents a typical *Kāyastha* of Bhallaṭa's time. Kalhaṇa must have had great admiration for Bhallaṭa, for he imitates a verse of Bhallaṭa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*:

तीर्थस्थितस्स्वकुलजांस्तिमिरात्ति भुङ्क्ते
मौनी बकस्तिमिमुपेत्य वनान्तवासी ।
व्याधो निहन्ति तु बकं प्रभवन्ति ते ते
पात्राण्युपर्युपरि वञ्चनभुञ्चुतायाः ॥ *R. T.* V. 305.

Bhallaṭaśataka, 87 (KM. Edn.)

वाताहारतया जगद्विषधरैराश्वस्य निश्वोषितं
ते ग्रस्ताः पुनरभ्रतोयकणिका तीव्रव्रतैर्बर्हिभिः ।
तेऽप्यक्रूरचमूरुचर्मवसनैर्नीताः क्षयं लुब्धकैः
दम्भस्य स्फुरणं विदन्नपि जनो जाल्मो गुणानीहते ॥

TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

The *Bhallaṭaśataka* was first published in the Kāvyamālā Gucchaka IV, in 1899. In the editorial footnote there, we are not informed of the manuscript on which that edition was based. Quite a large number of Bhallaṭa's verses are found in the anthologies, and sometimes the anthologies ascribe verses found in the *Bhallaṭaśataka* to other poets also. These ascriptions to other poets and the variant readings found in the citations of some of these verses in the anthologies were pointed out in the foot-notes in the Kāvyamālā edition.

The Kāvyamālā text has one hundred and eight verses. Of these, verse 68, **अमी ये दृश्यन्ते ननु सुभगरूपाः सफलता** etc. is quoted by Ānandavardhana as his own verse on p. 218 (K.M. edn.) of his *Dhvanyāloka.* Therefore this verse must be omitted. Similarly, we can definitely eschew also verse 102- **प्राणा येन समर्पितास्तव बलाद्येन त्वमुत्थापितः** etc.for, on p. 43 of his *Locana* on the *Dhvanyāloka,* Abhinavagupta quotes it as a verse of his own teacher Bhaṭṭendurāja, who lived after Bhallaṭa.

Of the other verses, many are ascribed to poets other than Bhallaṭa in the anthologies. The Kāvyamālā editor notes the evidence of only two anthologies, the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and the *Subhāṣitāvali.* We can add the evidence of Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvali* (G. O. S. edn.) also. The *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* and the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* do not mention Bhallaṭa.

Śl. 1. the *maṅgalaśloka* in the Kāvyamālā edition-**युष्माकमंबरमणेः प्रथमे मयूखाः**—This is a verse of Bhāgavata Amṛtadatta according to the *Subhāṣitāvali* (verse 73). From the fact that the preceding verse in the *Subhāṣitāvali* is also by Bhāgavata

Amṛtadatta and a verse on the Sun, we can infer that Amṛtadatta wrote some hymn on the Sun to which the verse युष्माकमम्बरमणेः figuring as the maṅgalaśloka in the *Kāvyamālā* edition of the *Bhallaṭaśataka* originally belonged. Similarly we may omit śl. 99 कोऽयं भ्रान्तिप्रकारः तव पवन पदं लोकपादाहतानाम् which, cited anonymously in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (794), is ascribed to Bhāgavata Amṛtadatta in the *Subhāṣitāvali* (1032) and the *Sūktimuktāvali* (p. 68)[1].

Sl. 25. न पङ्कादुद्भूतिः न जडसहवासव्यसनिता. This is a verse acribed to Bhāgavata Jayavardhana in the *Subhāṣitāvali* (verse 932) and the *Sūktimuktāvali* (p. 106). Similarly the next verse (26) उच्चैरुच्चरतु चिरं झिल्ली वर्त्मनि तरुं समारुह्य which occurs anonymously in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (śl. 1114) but is found as a verse of Jayavardhana in the *Subhāṣitāvali* (śl. 912). A commentary on the *Bhallaṭaśataka*, which I shall notice in due course, also omits verse 25 न पङ्कात्. Therefore we had better omit these two verses, 25 and 26 also.

Bhadanta Jñānavarman is another writer whose Anyāpadeśas also appear to have entered into the *Bhallaṭaśataka.*

किं जातोऽसि चतुष्पथे घनतरच्छायोऽसि किं छायया (Sl. 39)

Śl. 39. is unanimously ascribed to this Bhadanta Jñānavarman in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (971), *Subhāṣitāvali* (813) and *Sūktimuktāvali* (p. 107).

Śl. 62 कल्लोलवेल्लितदृषत्परुषप्रहारैः etc. with the second quarter as the first and vice versa is ascribed to Bhāgavata Trivikrama in the *Subhāṣitāvali* (śl. 866).[2]

The *Subhāṣitāvali* (648) ascribes śl. 103 रज्ज्वा दिशः प्रविततः सलिलं विषेण to Muktāpīḍa.

The next verse in the *Śataka* (104) प्रेङ्खन्मयूखनखशातशिखानिखात is No. 602 in the *Subhāṣitāvali* and is given there

1. Quoted anon. Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*, De's edn., p. 58.
2. Quoted, anon. Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*, De's edn., p. 16.

as a verse of one Upādhyāya Dhanavarman. Since the commentary on the *Bhallaṭaśataka* also does not have this verse, we need not hesitate to exclude it.

The last verse in the *Kāvyamālā* text (108) अयं वारामेको निलय इति रत्नाकर इति had also better be left out, for each anthology assigns it to a different author. While the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* has it as a verse of Mālavarudra (1091), the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (Punjab Oriental Series, p. 232) gives it as a verse of Vidyāpati and the *Sūktimuktāvali* ascribes it to Vararuci (p. 97). The Madras Palm leaf Ms. also omits it.[1]

Verses found in the *Kāvyamālā* text of the *Bhallaṭaśataka* but which are found anonymous in the anthologies are the following:

Śl. 21. नृत्यन्तः शिखिनो मनोहरममी श्रव्यं पठन्तः शुकाः

Subhāṣitāvali 771.

Śl. 38. सन्तोषः किमशक्तता किमथवा तस्मिन्नसंभावना „ 811.

Śl. 40. सन्मूलः प्रथितोन्नतिः घनलसच्छायः स्थितस्सत्पथे „ 812.

Śl. 43. साधूत्पात घनौघ साधु सुधियां ध्येयं धरायामिदम् „ 842.

Śl. 49. नोद्वेगं यदि यासि यद्यवहितः कर्णं ददासि क्षणम्-
Subhāṣitāvali 885, *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* 1084.

Śl. 50. ग्रावाणो मणयो हरिर्जलचरो लक्ष्मीः पयोमानुषी

Subhāṣitāvali, 864, *Sūktimuktāvali* p. 367, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, p. 233. All the three Manuscripts of the *Bhallaṭaśataka*, which I shall notice presently, do not have this verse.

Śl. 52. चिन्तामणे भुवि न केनचिदीश्वरेण *Subhāṣitāvali* 902.

Śl. 59. निस्सारास्सुतरां लघुप्रकृतयः योग्या न कार्ये क्वचित् „ 1010.

Śl. 63. मौलौ सन्मणयः गृहं गिरिगुहा त्यागः किलात्मत्वचः
Subhāṣitāvali, 1004, *Śāraṅgadharapaddhati*, 1174.

Śl. 64. भूयांस्य मुखानि नाम विदितैवास्ते महाप्राणता

Subhāṣitāvali, 1005.

Śl. 70. हेमकार सुधिये नमोऽस्तु ते „ 967.

1. Quoted anon. *Kāvyaprakāśa*, TSS. II, p. 335.

Sl. 71. वृत्त एव स घटोऽन्धकूपक *Subhāṣitāvali*, 968.

Śl. 73. न गुरुवंशपरिग्रहशौण्डता „ 970.

Sl. 74. तृणमणेर्मनुजस्य च तद्वतः „ 971.

Śl. 81. तत्प्रत्यर्थितया वृतो नु कृतकः सम्यक् स्वतन्त्रो भयात् „ 1008.

Śl. 82. एवं चेत् सरसि स्वभावमहिमा जाड्यं किमेतादृशम् „ 1002.

Śl. 83. ये दिग्ध्वैव कृता विषेण कुसृतिर्येषां कियद्रण्यते „ 1007.

Śl. 93. अनीर्ष्याः श्रोतारो मम वचसि चेद्वच्मि तदहम् „ 1012.

In the above list I have omitted verses which though found anonymous in one anthology are given as Bhallaṭa's in some other work.

Śl. माने नेच्छति वारयत्युपशमे क्ष्मामालिखन्त्यां ह्रियाम् is given in the *Sūktimuktāvali* as a verse of Bhartṛhari. One may be tempted to hasten to remove this verse, especially because of the apparent additional evidence of this verse not being an Anyāpadeśa. The ascription to Bhartṛhari has to be discounted and the fact must be borne in mind that all the verses in Bhallaṭa's *Śataka* are not Anyāpadeśas: eg. śl. 3. काचो मणिः and śl. 6. श्रीर्विशृङ्खल.— And Mahimabhaṭṭa also points out that śls. 6 and 69 are irregular Anyāpadeśas. Of these two irregular Anyāpadeśas and three verses which are not Anyāpadeśas, we have Kṣemendra's evidence to accept śl. 5 द्रविणमापदि as a genuine verse of Bhallaṭa.

The following verses are not found in any of the anthologies, nor are they quoted as Bhallaṭa's in any other work:

Śl. 6 श्रीर्विशृङ्खलखलाभिसारिका

„ पङ्क्तौ विशन्ति गणिताः प्रतिलोमवृत्त्या [1]

15. सत्त्वान्तः स्फुरिताय वा कृतगुणाध्यारोपतुच्छाय वा

16. दन्तान्त कुन्त मुख सन्तत पात घात

35. अन्तः कर्कशता बहिश्च घटना मर्माविधैः कण्टकैः [2]

1. Quoted anon. Hemacandra, *Kāvyānuśāsana*, KM. edn. p. 108.

2. The three Mss. and the commentary do not have this verse; one Ms. has a substitute for this verse.

Śl. 36. एष श्रीमानविरलगुणग्रामणीर्नारिकेल:

44. लब्धायां तृषि गोमृगस्य विहगस्यान्यस्य वा कस्यचित्

45. सन्त्यज्य पानाचमनोचितानि

53. संवित्तिरस्त्यथ गुणाः प्रतिभान्ति लोके

65. लोके समस्त एवैकः

84. अहो क्रौर्यं स्त्रीणां हतरजनि धिक्त्वामतिशठे

85. अहो गेहेनर्दी दिवसविजिगीषाज्वररुजा

89. अस्थानोद्योगदुखं जहिहि न हि नभः पङ्गुसञ्चारयोग्यम्

90. चन्द्रेणैव तरङ्गभाङ्गिबहुलं संवर्ध्यमानांभसः

91. किलैकचुलकेन यो मुनिरपारमब्धिं पपौ [1]

92. ग्रावाणोऽत्र विभूषणं त्रिजगतो मर्यादया स्थीयते

98. ग्रावग्रस्तसमस्तचेतनमनोवैदग्ध्यमुग्धो जनः [2]

100. एते ते विजिगीषवो नृपगृहद्वारार्पणावेक्षणः

101. वाता वान्तु कदम्बरेणुबहला नृत्यन्तु सर्पद्विषः

105. दानार्थिनो मधुकरा यदि कर्णतालैः [3]

106. विख्यातं विजयावहं रणभुवि व्याप्तं शुभैर्लक्षणैः [4]

107. विशालं शाल्मल्या नयनसुभगं वीक्ष्य कुसुमम् [5]

The utmost we can say of the above verses is that none of the anthologists found these striking enough for inclusion among their collections.

There are a few verses of Bhallaṭa of whose genuineness we are certain: Kṣemendra quotes in his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*[6] two verses, Nos. 4 and 5, नन्वाश्रयस्थितिः[7] and द्रविणमापदि men-

1. The commentary considers this verse an interpolation.
2. Absent in the commentary and the Madras Palm leaf Ms.

3-4. Absent in all the three Mss. and the commentary.

5. Absent in the Madras Palm leaf Ms. only.
6. KM. Gucchaka, IV
7. Quoted anon. *Kāvyaprakāśa*, TSS. edn. p. 360; given as Bhallaṭa's in *Subhāṣitāvali*, 441. According to Kṣemendra, Utpalarājadeva imitated this verse of Bhallaṭa. This Utpalarājadeva is Abhinavagupta's grand preceptor and this would add support to Bhallaṭa's date known from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*

tioning their author as Bhallaṭa. The same author quotes śl. 97 मृत्योरास्यमिवाततम् as a verse of Bhallaṭa in his *Aucitya-vicāracarcā.*[1] No. 69 आहूतेषु विहङ्गमेषु is also a certainty because Mahimabhaṭṭa cites it along with 'द्रविणमापदि'. We can be sure also of śl. 76 बुध्यामहे न बहुधापि विकल्पयन्तः, for its second half is quoted as Bhallaṭa's by Vardhamāna in his *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi* (p. 312, Eggeling's edn.). *Subhāṣitāvali* (982) also gives this as a verse of Bhallaṭa.

Of the other verses in the *Kāvyamālā* text, the following are given as Bhallaṭa's in the anthologies.

Śl. 2. बद्धा यदर्पणरसेन विमर्दपूर्वम् *Subhāṣitāvali,* 162.

Śl. 3. काचो मणिर्मणिः काचः „ 214.

Śl. 8. पततु वारिणि यातु दिगन्तरम् „ 554.

Śl. 9. सद्वृत्तयः सदसदर्थविवेकिनो ये „ 556.

Śl. 10. पातः पूष्णो भवति महते नोपतापाय यस्मात् „ 563. *Śārṅgadharapaddhati,* 745, *Sūktimuktāvali,* p. 6?.

Śl. 12. गते तस्मिन् भानौ त्रिभुवनसमुन्मेषविरह etc. *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati,* 746, *Sūktimuktāvali,* p. 64.

Śl. 13. सूर्यादन्यत्र यच्चन्द्रेऽपि *Subhāṣitāvali,* 777, *Sūktimuktāvali,* p. 83.

Śl. 14. घनसन्तमसमलिमस *Subhāṣitāvali,* 778, *Śārṅgadharapaddhati,* 899.

Śl. 17. अत्युन्नतिव्यसनिनः शिरसोऽधुनैष *Subhāṣitāvali,* 677.

Śl. 18. सोऽपूर्वो रसनाविपर्ययविधिः तत्कर्णयोश्चापलम् *Subhāṣitāvali,* 751, *Sūktimuktāvali,* p. 82.[2]

Śl. 19. तद्वैदग्ध्यं समुदितपयस्तोयतत्त्वं विवेक्तुम् *Subhāṣitāvali,* 762, *Sūktimuktāvali,* p. 80.

Śl. 20. पथि निपतितां शून्ये दृष्ट्वा निरावरणाननाम् *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati,* 881, *Sūktimuktāvali,* p. 77.

1. KM. Gucchaka, I, p. 146. The *Subhāṣitāvali* also gives this verse as Bhallaṭa's (No. 1021).

2. Quoted anon. *Kāvyaprakāśa,* TSS. edn. II, p. 306.

Śl. 22. करभरभसात्क्रोष्टुं वाञ्छस्यहो श्रवणज्वरः *Subhāṣitāvali*, 669,
Sūktimuktāvali, p. 91.

Śl. 23. अन्तश्छिद्राणि भूयांसि *Subhāṣitāvali*, 921
(*Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, anonymous, 1142.)

Śl. 24. किं दार्घदीर्घेषु गुणेषु पद्म *Subhāṣitāvali*, 922.

Śl. 27. शङ्खोऽस्थिशेषः स्फुटितो मृतो वा ,, 913.

Śl. 28. यथापल्लवपुष्पास्ते ,, 785.

Śl. 29. साध्वेव तद्विधावस्य ,, 786.

Śl. 30. फलितघनविटपविघटित ,, 795.

Śl. 31. ग्रथित एव मिथःकृतशृंखलैः ,, 799.

Śl. 32. चन्दने विषधरान् सहामहे ,, 798.
Śārṅgadharapaddhati, 1043, *Sūktimuktāvali* p. 115.

Śl. 33. यत्किञ्चनानुचितमप्युचितानुबन्धि *Subhāṣitāvali*, 800.

Śl. 34. लब्धं चिरादमृतवत् किममृत्यवे स्यात् ,, 805.

Śl. 37. छिन्नस्तस्सुहृत् स चन्दनतरुः यस्मै पलाय्यागताः ,, 815.

Śl. 41. त्वन्मूले पुरुषायुषं गतमिदं गात्रेण संशुष्यता ,, 816.

Śl. 42. पश्यामः किमयं प्रपद्यत इति स्वल्पाभ्रसिद्धिक्रियैः ,, 847.

Śl. 46. आस्त्रीशिशुप्रथितयैष पिपासितेभ्यः ,, 868.

Śl. 47. स्वमाहात्म्यश्लाघागुरुगहनगर्जाभिरभितः ,, 877.
(with the order of the two halves reversed.)

Śl. 48. सर्वासां त्रिजगत्यपामियमसाबाधारतां तावकी
Subhāṣitāvali, 879.

Sl. 51. भिद्यतेऽनुप्रविश्यान्तः ,, 893,
Sūktimuktāvali, p. 98 (with the halves reversed).

Śl. 54. चिन्तामणेस्तृणमणेश्च कृतं विधात्रा *Subhāṣitāvali*, 903.

Śl. 55. दूरे कस्यचिदेव कोऽप्यकृतधीः नैवास्य वेत्त्यन्तरम् ,, 907.

Śl. 58. आजन्मनः कुशलमण्वपि रे कुजन्मन् ,, 986.

Śl. 60. ये जात्या लघवः सदैव गणनां याता न ये कुत्रचित्
Śārṅgadharapaddhati, 792, *Sūktimuktāvali*, p. 68.[1]

1. Anonymous in *Subhāṣitāvali*, 1011.

Śl. 61.	हे दन्दशूक तदयोग्यमपीश्वरस्त्वाम्	*Subhāṣitāvali*,	974.
Śl. 66.	आबद्धकृत्रिमसटाजटिलांसभित्तिः	,,	995.
Śl. 67.	किमिदमुचितं शुद्धेः श्लिष्टं स्वपक्षसमुन्नतेः	,,	999.
Śl. 72.	शतपदी यदि पादशतैः क्षमा	*Śārṅgadharapaddhati*,	1215.
		Sūktimuktāvali,	p. 129.[1]
Śl. 75.	तनुतृणाग्रधृतेन हृतश्चिरम्	*Subhāṣitāvali*,	973.
Śl. 77.	संरक्षितुं कृषिरकारि कृषीवलेन	,,	984.
Śl. 78.	कस्यानिमेषवितते नयने दिवौको-	,,	985.
Śl. 79.	पुंस्त्वादपि प्रविचलेद्यदि यद्यधोऽपि	,,	987.
Śl. 80.	स्वल्पाशयः स्वकुलशिल्पविकल्पमेव	,,	988.
Śl. 86.	नामाप्यन्यतरोन्निमीलितमभूत्तत्तावदुन्मीलितम्	,,	1017.
Śl. 87.	वाताहारतया जगद्विषधरैराश्वास्य निःशेषितम्	,,	1016.[2]
Śl. 88.	रूढा येन महाधुराः सुविषमे मार्गे सदैकाकिना	,,	1018.
Śl. 94.	एतत्तस्य मुखात् कियत्कमलिनीपत्रे कणं पाथसः	,,	1014.[3]
Śl, 95.	आस्तेऽत्रैव सरस्यहो बत कियान् सन्तोषपक्षग्रहः	,,	1015.

Of the remaining verses in the *Śataka*, No. 56 needs some discussion. This verse परार्थे यः पीडामनुभवति भङ्गेऽपि मधुरः is ascribed to Indurāja in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (1052), to Yaśas in the *Subhāṣitāvali* (947), to Indurāja in the *Sūktimuktāvali* (p. 120) also and to Vākpati in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (p. 207). Ānandavardhana quotes it twice without mention of its author (*Dhvanyāloka*, pp. 53, 218). Since it is possible that Bhallaṭa lived also during the time of Avantivarman and Ānandavardhana, the quotation by Ānandavardhana by itself does not prevent this verse being Bhallaṭa's; but what has to be noted is that not even one anthology remembers it as a verse of Bhallaṭa.

Śloka 57. आम्राः किं फलभारनम्रशिरसो रम्याः किमूष्मच्छिदः

1. Quoted anonymously in the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, TSS edn. II, p. 303.
2. Quoted anonymously in Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*, KM. edn p. 19; see also *Kāvyaprakāśa*, TSS. edn. II. p. 109.
3. Quoted anonymously in Abhinavagupta's *Locana*, p. 42.

Though this is ascribed to Bhallaṭa in the *Subhāṣitāvali*, the *Sūktimuktāvali* mentions Prakāśavarṣa as its author (p. 120). Similarly, doubt has to be cast on verse 96 भेकेन क्वणता सरोषपरुषं यत्कृष्णसर्पानने which, though Bhallaṭa's in the *Subhāṣitāvali* (1019), is Jalacandra's according to the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (p. 244). Some weight may be attached to the evidence of Śrīdharadāsa especially in view of Śārṅgadhara's silence about the author of this verse (*Paddhati*, 1177).

The anthologies ascribe to Bhallaṭa some verses not found in the *Kāvyamālā* text of the Bhallaṭa's *Śataka*.

1. रे रे काक वराक साकमधुना पुंस्कोकिलेन ध्वनि — *Śūktimuktāvali*, p. 72, *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, 846 (with the halves reversed).
2. वपुर्विषमसंस्थानम् — *Sūktimuktāvali*, p. 90. *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, 950.
3. मा गा विषादमलि पोतक केतकीनाम् — *Sūktimuktāvali*, p. 81.
4. करभदयिते यत्तत्पीतं सुदुर्लभमेकदा — ,, p. 91.
5. सद्यः क्षिप्तं व्रजति सलिलं यत्र मुक्तामयत्वम् — ,, p. 70.

Śārṅgadharapaddhati 3480 दृष्टे चन्द्रमसि ascribed to Bhallaṭa is not corroborated by the other anthologies, the *Sūktimuktāvali* ascribing it to Bhīmaṭa (p. 157) and the *Subhāṣitāvali* giving it anonymously (1987).

6. नित्यं तीर्थे निवासः प्रकृतिरतितरां स्निग्धमुग्धस्वभावा — *Subhāṣitāvali*, 1020.

MANUSCRIPTS OF BHALLATA SATAKA

Above was given a review of the *Kāvyamālā* text of the *Bhallaṭaśataka* in the light of the anthologies and other works which quote Bhallaṭa. Let me now turn the light of manuscripts on the text. I have examined three manuscripts of the *Bhallaṭaśataka* and a manuscript of a commentary on the work by one Maheśvara. The first manuscript examined is a Devanāgarī paper transcript from a Trivandrum manuscript and the second a palm-leaf manuscript in the Grantha script. These

two belong to the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, D. 12109[1] and D. 12110. The third manuscript is in palm-leaf and Malayāḷam and belongs to the Adyar Library, 40 C 8 (Catalogue II, p. 8b). The commentary of Maheśvara is a Devanāgarī transcript from a Malabar original and is No. R. 2907 of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. All the manuscripts abound in scribal errors.

The Madras paper manuscript does not have five verses of the *Kāvyamālā* text, 35 अन्तः कर्कशता 36 एष श्रीमान् 106 दानार्थिनः 107 विख्यातं विजयावहम् and 50 ग्रावाणो मणयः Of these 35 अन्तः कर्कशता has the following substitute on the same tree with the same idea, but in different words.

आमूलाग्रनिबद्धकण्टकतनुः निर्गन्धपुष्पोद्गमः
छाया न श्रमहारिणी न च फलं क्षुत्क्षामसन्तर्पणम् ।
बर्बूरद्रुम साधुसङ्गरहित तत्तावदास्तामहो
अन्येषामपि शाखिनां फलवतां गुप्त्यै वृतिर्जायते ॥

The other Madras manuscript and the Adyar manuscript, both, omit 35 अन्तः कर्कशता and do not even have the above substitute. It may also be noted that 35 and 36 and 105 and and 106 are not found in the anthologies also.

The additional verses in the Madras paper manuscript are seven. (1) The first is an additional maṅgalaśloka in ***anuṣṭubh*** with which all the three manuscripts examined by me open: It is

तां भवानीं भवानीतक्लेशनाशविशारदाम् ।
शारदां शारदम्भोजासितसिंहासनां नुमः ॥

The commentary by Maheśvara also has this verse, but it

1. For a description of this manuscript, see *Report*, Seshagiri Sastri, I, p. 91. Based on this manuscript appeared an edition of *Bhallaṭaśataka* from Madras in 1898, by Mr. S. Vāsudevācārya, with his own Sanskrit and English commentaries and English translation.

must be noted that the numbering of verses in this commentary is irregular by one number, a fact which makes the position of this verse very shaky.

(2) p. 10. śl. 22

रणद्भिः किं भेकैः श्रुतिकुहरकीलायितरवैः
बकैर्वा किं मूकैः परनिधननित्यव्यसनिभिः ।
सरोजख्याति दिद चिरं
कुरु स्नेहं हंसैर्मधुरविरुतैश्चारुचरितैः ॥

(3) p. 12. śl. 26.

पृथक् समास्थेयमियं स्थितिर्नो
नान्योन्यधामाक्रमणं विधेयम् ।
सरोरुहाणामपि कोशनालौ
समाश्रितौ श्रीगुणमण्डलाभ्याम् ॥

(4) P. 16. śl. 36. The substitute for 35 **अन्तः कर्कशता** viz. **आमूलाग्र** etc. given above.

(5) P. 27. śl. 58. **दौर्जन्यमात्मनि** etc. No. 803 in the *Subhāṣitāvali* and 1031 in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati.* In both the anthologies it is given as a verse of Govindarāja.

(6) P. 49. śl. 104. **कृष्णं वपुर्वहतु** etc.

No. 766 in the *Subhāṣitāvali* and No. 886 in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati.* The former ascribes it to Bhāgavata Jayavardhana some of whose other verses, we noted previously, have also got into the *Bhallaṭaśataka.* The latter anthology gives it anonymously.

(7) P. 51. śl. 110. The last verse

सर्वप्रजाहितकृतः पुरुषोत्तमस्य
वासे समस्तविबुधप्रहितेष्टसिद्धौ ।
चन्द्रांशुविस्मृति (विस्तृत) करच्यु (द्यु) तिमत्यमुष्मिन्
हे कालकूट तव (जन्म कथं पयोधौ) ॥

This verse is available in the commentary also as No. 103 where we find the readings सर्वप्रजाहितकरे, प्रथितेष्टसिद्धौ and चन्द्रांशु-वृन्दविततद्युति. It is from this commentary that I have supplied the missing part of the last foot of this verse above.

Besides these differences, there are differences in the verse-order and readings in this Madras paper manuscript.

The Madras Palm-leaf manuscript (D. 12110) has one hundred and one verses including the additional *anuṣṭubh* maṅgalaśloka, तां भवानीम्. This means that this manuscript omits eight verses of the *Kāvyamālā* text. These omitted verses are 35 अन्तः कर्कशता, 36 एष श्रीमान् 50 ग्रावाणो मणयः (all these three omitted in the previous manuscript also)—98 ग्रावग्रस्त and 105–8 दानार्थिनः, विख्यातम्, विशालम् and अयं वाराम् (of which 105 and 106 are omitted by the previous manuscript also). Thus in addition to those omitted by the previous manuscript, this manuscript omits three more, 98, 107 and 108. The anthologies also do not have any of the three 105–107 and the commentary omits 35, 36, 98, 105 and 106.

The palm-leaf Malayāḷam manuscript of Adyar has one hundred and eight verses. This manuscript omits 35, 36, 50, 105 and 106, omitted also by previous manuscripts and the commentary and not found in the anthologies. (No. 50 is found anonymously in the anthologies.) To the one hundred and three remaining verses, this manuscript adds five new verses : the first is the *anuṣṭubh* maṅgala found in the previous manuscript. The second is śl. 22 रेरे ध्वाङ्क्ष which is found as an anonymous verse under No. 772 in the *Subhāṣitāvali*. The third is śl 43 छाया नात्मन एव, No. 821 anonymous in the *Subhāṣitāvali*[1] The fourth is śl. 96

हे माणिक्य तदेतदेव हि वरं यद् वानरेणमुना
ह्यन्तस्सारनिरीक्षणव्यसनिना चूर्णीकृतो नाश्मना ।
आघ्रातं परिचुम्बितं प्रतिमुहुर्लीढं पुनश्चर्वितं
निःक्षिप्तं भुवि नीरसेन मनसा खेदं वृथा मा कृथाः ।

1. Quoted anon. in *Vakroktijīvita*, De's edn. p. 189.

The fifth is śl. 106

पाषाणजालजटिलोऽपि गिरिर्विशालः
तोयस्य नित्यगमनादुपयाति भेदम् ।
कर्णेजपैरहरहः प्रतिपाद्यमानः
को वा न याति विकृतिं दृढसौहृदोऽपि ॥ [1]

This manuscript also shows changes in verse-order and different readings.

THE COMMENTARY BY MAHESVARA

Maheśvara's commentary on the *Bhallaṭaśataka* (Madras, R. 2907) has one hundred and five verses. The following verses in the *Kāvyamālā* text are omitted by his commentary: 24 किं दीर्घदीर्घेषु, 25 न पङ्कादुद्भूतिः, 30 फलितवन, 35 अन्तः कर्कशता 36 एष श्रीमान्, 98 ग्रावग्रस्त, 104 प्रेङ्खन्मयूख 105 दानार्थिनः and 106 विख्यातं विजयावहम्—on the whole nine verses. *On śl. 91* किलैकचुलकेन *the commentary says that the verse is an interpolation*, but that it still comments upon the verse. To the remaining ninety-nine verses this commentary adds six new verses:

1. The first *anuṣṭubh* maṅgala, तां भवानीम्
2. śl. 25 कटु रटति which is *Subhāṣitāvali* 692 anonymous.
3. śl. त्यक्त्वारविन्दमकरन्दमनादरेण
किञ्जल्ककल्कपरिधूसरितान्तरेषु ।
(त्वं) केतकीविकटसङ्कटकण्टकेषु
हा हा मुधा भ्रमर धावसि गन्धलुब्धः ॥ [2]

4. śl. 102. किं तेन हेमगिरिणा which is found as an anonymous verse in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, p. 249.

1. Like the three verses noted previously, this is not an *Anyāpadeśa*; it is an *Arthāntaranyāsa*.

2. These verses are reconstructed by me from the words in the commentary. The commentary gives the full verse only in one case (śl 15 सत्त्वान्तस्स्फुरिताय)

5. Śl. 103. सर्वप्रजाहितकरे which is the last (110) verse in the Madras Paper manuscript noticed previously.

6. Śl. 105, last आदाय वारि परितः This verse is anonymously quoted in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* (TSS. II, p. 304). We have to throw this out, for Kṣemendra quotes it in his *Aucityavicāra-carcā*, p. 139, as a verse of Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is evidently the *guru* of Abhinavagupta.

This commentary also shows differences in verse-order and readings.

I am not yet able to identify this commentator. In the comments on its 102nd verse it speaks of the Karṇāṭa equivalent of the Śākhoṭa tree : शाखोटः खरपत्रतरुः । कर्णाटभाषायां मिट्टिलीति प्रसिद्धिः । The authors and works cited by Maheśvara are *Amaru*, *Viśvaprakāśa*, Kālidāsa (*Śākuntala*), Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtravṛtti*, Bhāravi (*Kirātārjunīya*), Bhoja's grammar and the *Aṣṭāṅga-nighaṇṭu*.

Regarding the value of these three manuscripts and the commentary, one cannot be enthusiastic, for in all of them, we find the two verses which we know are Ānandavardhana's and Bhaṭṭendurāja's.

THE NAME BHALLATA.

Subhāṣitāvali 214 gives Bhallaṭa as Mallaṭa, but in view of numerous other instances giving Bhallaṭa, we have to brush aside the form Mallaṭa. The *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* gives the name as Bhalūṭa (p. 312) and this also has to be ignored. Kṣemendra (thrice) and Kalhaṇa (once), both Kāṣmīrians, gave the name as Bhallaṭa.

DID BHALLATA WRITE ANY OTHER WORK ?

Keith says in his *Sanskrit Literature* (p. 232) that, besides this *Śataka*, " Bhallaṭa wrote also a good deal of other poetry, to judge from the anthologies . . . " There is hardly any support for this statement in the anthologies.

Aufrecht adds under Bhallaṭa (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, 397b) a second work, the *Padamañjarī*, a lexicon. And Stein also adds this information in his translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, in the footnote under Bhallaṭa, V. 204. This *Padamañjarī* is by another Bhallaṭa.

ANOTHER BHALLATA.

Manuscripts of the *Padamañjarī* are available at Mysore and Tanjore. The Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue describes the *Padamañjarī* under No. 5010. The *Padamañjarī* is a lexicon of alliterating words and is the work of a Bhallaṭa who was patronized by a chief named Buddha.

लक्ष्मीबुद्धनृपालेन यं प्राप्ता कविभल्लटम् ।
तेन काव्यदृशा प्रोक्ता सप्रासा पदमञ्जरी ॥

runs the first verse of the *Padamañjarī*. In the Tanjore Library there is another work of this Bhallaṭa called the *Gaṇamañjarī* described under number 4652 and from the colophon in this manuscript we learn that this Bhallaṭa belonged to Drākṣārāma in the East Godavari District in Āndhra. Buddha who patronized him may be one of the Buddharāzus known in Andhra history and inscriptions.

OTHER BHALLATAS.

Perhaps Bhallaṭa referred to in Telugu Grammatical literature is a third writer of this name. There seems to have been yet another Bhallaṭa. At any rate, that is what we have to guess from the fact that a hymn in about a hundred *Āryās* on the Goddess at Varadarāja's temple at Kāñcī, called the *Perundevīstotra*, goes by the other name *Bhallaṭaśataka* also. See Madras Descriptive Catalogue No. 11424–5, 14598, Madras Triennial Catalogue No. 1031 (c). There is a fragment of this very late *Stotra Bhallaṭaśataka* in the Adyar Library, wrongly put together with the *Anyāpadeśa Bhallaṭaśataka* on p. 8b (23. H. 29) of the Adyar Catalogue II. More of

this *Bhallaṭaśataka* can be had in a note of mine which will appear in the Adyar Bulletin.

From the fact that verses of post-Bhallaṭa writers like Bhaṭṭenduràja are to be found in the *Bhallaṭaśataka* we can conclude that verses of Bhallaṭa handed down and remembered were put together in the form of a *Śataka* only a couple of centuries after Bhallaṭa. This late formation of the *Śataka* explains some of the indiscriminations in the *Śataka*. Perhaps three such collections considered best were made at some period by somebody, for the colophon in the *Kāvyamālā* text reads **इति रत्नत्रये भल्लटशतकं समाप्तम् ।** Our manuscripts of Bhallaṭa's *Śataka* have either no colophon or a colophon mentioning *Bhallaṭaśataka* only. The two other 'gems' implied in the *Kāvyamālā* text's colophon are evidently two other *Anyāpadeśas* or other *Śatakas*. They are decidedly not Bhallaṭa's works; if they were, the colophon would be otherwise.

A STUDY OF DREAMS IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF ŚRĪ RĀMĀNUJA.

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It has been said that much of what passes for Indian Psychology is speculative and mystical and not experimental; that it is, more often than not, primitive and anthropomorphic and superstitious. It is certainly true to say that more speculation in psychology, as in everything else, is false. The question is whether there could be any speculation apart from experience; though it is true to say that the experience that we start with should be first tested and carefully studied. The facts alone are the final arbiters of any theory, and no theory that does not stand the test of experience can be considered to be true at all. The experience that is the test of all truth, the *vyavahāra* that is the final arbiter of any knowledge, is not the uneducated statement but statement that has been made after due understanding of experience, carefully sifted and analysed and synthesized. Scientifie observation, thus, is the essence of any theory. Indian Psychology of Dreams is prompted by the question regarding the autonomy of the psychical life. What is the special characteristic of dream-life? A question similar to this was addressed by Prof. Hollingworth to his study of the *Psychology of Thought* from the stand-point of dream-life. This question is very significant, since it seeks to discover the special characteristic of dream-life. There are several views, and no one formula seems to fit in with facts. In this paper, at the very start, let me dispel the illusion of one formula or explanation underlying most theories.

The Indian Psychology of Dreams naturally takes its start from the Vedic period. The first view that we glean regarding

dreams is from the Ṛgveda. The dreams are manifestations of evil spirits, and they are said to be caused by the activity of spirits that dispense justice, of spirits of magic. The earnest devotee prays to Lord Varuṇa to protect him from the activities of evil spirits.

Yo me rājanyujyo vā sakhā vā, svapne bhayam bhirave mahyamāha steno vā yo dipsati no vṛko vā, tvam tasmād-varuṇa pāhyasmān. (Ṛgveda. II. 28. 10).

This is not the only view however. Dreams are said to be due to the manifold activities of the mind itself. "Avaunt, thou master of mind, depart and vanish far away. Look on destruction far from hence. The live man's mind is manifold." (Ṛgveda. X. 164.) The suggestion that mind has manifold functions that it executes in all states, is valuable psychological insight. But there is the fear of being under the influence of dreams. However pleasant in parts, they were deemed to be placing the individual under the influence of external forces. "Even if, O child of Heaven, it makes a garland or chain of gold, the whole bad dream, whatever it be, to Trita Āptya, we consign" (Ṛgveda. VIII. 47. 15). There is as yet not the consciousness that they are dream-creations of one's own making. It is just possible that such an idea did not find a place in their psychology. But that these dreams were held to be in some sense, results of their own bad actions is clear, since the appeal is to the Lord of *Ṛta*, the Law-giver, and they also prayed to Him to transfer their evil dreams to those who deserve it, namely, the evil-doers.

This view finds full expression in the incantations of the Ātharvaṇaveda. Dreams are fashioned in sleep. Sleep thus becomes the embryo of dreams. It is the source, the *Yoni* of all dreams. In other words, it is during the period of sleep, when all the senses, are lulled, and when one is alone with one's psychic being, the *buddhi* and *antaḥkaraṇa*, there happens the influences of other psychic forces. It is the influence of psychic forces that leads to dream-consciousness or dream-experience. As the Ātharvaṇaveda says, it is then that there

happens stimulations of the vital forces within the individual, the lair of the *asuras*, as the expressive phrase runs.

1. "Out of Yama's world hast thou come hither with mirth (?) dost thou, wise, make use of mortals, knowing, thou goest in alliance with the solitary one, fashioning sleep in the lair (yoni) of the Asura.
2. The all-vigorous bond saw thee in the beginning in the one day before the birth of night, from thence, O sleep, didst thou come hither, hiding thy form from the physicians.
3. He of great kine turned unto the gods away from the asuras, seeking greatness; to that sleep the three and thirty ones having attained the sky imparted overlordship.
4. Not the fathers and not the gods, know it, whose murmur goes about within here; in Trita Āptya did the men, the ādityas taught by Varuṇa set sleep.
5. Of whom the evil-doers shared the cruelty, the well-doers by non-sleep (shared) the pure (puṇya) life-time, the sky with the highest relative: thou wast born out of the mind of the practising fervour.
6. We know all thine attendents (?) in front: we know O sleep, who is thine over-ruler here; protect us here with the glory of the glorious one; go thou away far off with poisons" (A. V. XIX. 56. trans. Whitney).

One fact that has to be noted is that the word *Svapna* meant two things, the state of sleep as well as what it contains, the dreams. Therefore in the whole Hymn above quoted, we have to understand sleep in its two-fold connotations.

The first verse tells us that sleep which stimulates death, is a creation of Yama, the lord of death, and fashions sleep in the places of action, that is, creates rest and stoppage of action.

The second verse shows that the nature of sleep and dream is not discovered by the physicians, and though outer symp-

toms are lacking, yet there is full activity of the mind in dream-sleep.

The third verse takes us further into the nature of the dream-sleep. He, who is possessed of powers instead of using the waking forces and sense-organs exteriorly turned, now began to use the Gods, seeking greatness, the creative energies within more than whom he is. The power that made these dream-creations is something over and above the powers or forces interior to the individual which are psychic nature.

The fourth verse describes the nature of the inward action of that Power that seeks greatness through them, about whom neither the fathers, nor the gods, know. It is in the Trita Āptya, the men taught by Varuṇa, the lord of *Ṛta*, set sleep. This is indeed very obstruse since the *ādityas* as the shining ones taught by Varuṇa, are said to have placed sleep in Trita Āptya. The symbolism implicit in this species of Gods needs further elucidation. They belong to the level of the highest inner state of deep sleep, of *suṣupti*. The other term referring to the gods called Dvita is related to the Trita gods in some as yet un-understood symbolic manner.

The fifth verse is indeed very significant. The evil-doers were created to enjoy cruelty, and the well-doers to non-dream, and they reached the plane of consciousness which rightly belongs to the Highest. Such highest state has occured as a consequence of pure deeds and self-control—practising fervour means such self-control—and a life-time of *puṇya*.

The last verse clearly reveals that the over-ruler here is the Glorious one, the one who sought out the gods leaving the *asuras*, in order to manifest his Greatness.

The other hymn where there is reference to the dreams is a magician's incantation to make dreams trouble the mind of the God-reviler, the mocker, of one who is not of us that is to say who is our foe. Therein Sleep is described as the "embryo of the wives of the gods, instrument of Yama"; the excellent dreams being the progeny of the creative forces,

namely, the gods. The evil dream is cast out and sent to those who are foes.

> " Embryo of the wives of the gods, instrument of Yama, excellent dream ; evil (dream) that is mine, that do we send forth to him that hates us." (A.V. XIX. 57).

The next verse that follows this is admittedly a difficult one for which Prof. Whitney does not stand surety for correctness. His translation runs after amendations made by him thus :—

4. " Thee that are ' harsh ' by name, mouth of the black-bird (śakuni)—thee, O sleep, we thus know completely; do thou, O sleep, as a horse a halter, as a horse a girth, scatter him who is not of us, the God-reviler, the mocker."

The important part is the mouth of the black-bird *kṛṣṇa-śakuni.* The inner meaning of the black-bird is that it is a sign of omens, too. The word *śakunam* indeed proves that the art of prediction took its *cue* from the signs of birds. The dark omen predicted by the dreams is a favourable interpretation of the passage. Further, sleep is like a horse that throws off its halter and releases itself from its girth, scatters the evil dreams. There is thus freedom granted to the dream to shake itself off from the limitations of its evil dreams and to enjoy good ones.

5. The fifth verse prays that the God-reviler, the mocker, one who is not of us, may wear the evil dreams, as if it were a necklace or band.

The last verse is again very abstruse and is a magical formula.

Our tentative study of the Vedic concept of sleep—dream shows that the distinctions between light sleep and deep sleep was made by the seers and whilst deep sleep was almost like death, light sleep was the period of enjoyment of good and bad dreams. The creative power that works in dreams is the highest

power, who seeks his greatness after abandoning the powers of *Prāṇa* or *asura*, and takes up the task of creating god-like creations in sleep. The magical formula in the fifty-seventh hymn of the Ātharvaṇaveda is the statement of the principle that *Mantra* can make the dreams pass away to others. But the power that must be made to do this, is undoubtedly the Supreme Lord of *Ṛta*. He could be appealed to only through prayer and *māntric* incantation.

The human being is constantly under the control of the powers, external to him, internal to him and above him. External experiences of objects as well as internal experiences of the powers of the shining beings, *ādityas*, gods, manifested in dreams, are prophetic or pleasant, fear-striking and terrific and evil according to the Law of Varuṇa, who is the Moral Dispenser of Justice.

The psychological theory of dream gets an ethical justification here. There is realization of ends or the results of such desires as have been made in the waking-state under the moral dispensation of the Lord. Moral causality thus is in the forefront. Secondly, the power of dream-creation is relegated to the psychic powers independent of the individual. We are here in the land of theocracy. The reason is not far to seek. It is because the Hindu thinkers found themselves helpless. They could not get their own wills to create what they wished for. The dream refused to fall into their scheme of what is good, and man experiences both evil and good dreams, despite of himself. If he were to be the creator he would never dream a bad dream at all, as his own prayers to Lord Varuṇa reveals. That no physician can cure the evil dreams, is another fact that makes him conceive of dreams, good as well as bad, as creations of other forces than himself. He is however aware that they come to him because of his evil mind and action, and prays therefore that in return to his being good He would "scatter them to their foes, like the horse its halter, like the horse its girth."

The Dream-theory of Śrī Rāmānuja is almost similar to the view propounded above. The same theory is accepted by the *Upaniṣads*, though there is more elaboration. The question is whether it is the individual soul who creates or imagines, or the Lord who creates and makes the individuals imagine through His greatness, *mahimā*, His splendour and His justice.

In the *Upaniṣads* we have many references to dreams. It is the stage known as the Intermediate state. *Sāndhyam tṛtīyam svapnasthānam.* (Bṛhad. Up. IV. 3.)

In this stage Yājñavalkya says there is self-projection.

> " He projects for himself tanks, lotus-pools, streams, for he is the creator" (Iv. 3. 10) ; "He makes many forms for himself" (13); "He goes wherever he pleases" (12) ; " It is his private pleasure-ground." (14).

In the Chāndogyopaniaṣd, (Ch. Up. VIII. 10. 1.) it is mentioned that

> " He moves about happy in dream. He is the self. That is the Immortal, the fearless, that is Brahman."

In the Praśnopaniṣad, (Praśna. Up. IV. 5.) we have the statement that in dream or sleep God experiences greatness. cf. Ātharvaṇaveda XIX. 56, 3.

> " There in sleep that God experiences greatness. Whatever object has been seen, he sees again, has been heard, he hears again. That which has been severally experienced in different places and regions, he severally experiences again and again. Both what has been seen and what has not been seen, both what has been heard and what has not been heard, both what has been experienced and what has not been experienced, both the real (*sat*) and the unreal (*asat*) he sees all. He sees it himself being all."

This passage is crucial in the explanation of the theory of self-projection and self-creativity. It promises to explain all

dreams, as if they were representations or reproductions of objects of the waking-state in the state of sleep with such additions as will display its greatness. But the last sentence clinches the whole description with the sentence "He sees it, himself being all." This has more relevantly reference to the Supreme Being who is All, and not one who imagines himself to be god, and all. The explanation of the passage accordingly should be that though the imagery be those that have been once seen, heard and tasted and felt, their recurrence in the individual's consciousness is not by any means due to the activity of the individual himself but due to the Divine Being, who is the Inner Ruler Immortal. The reality of the dream as well as its prognosticating or prophetic nature (non-existent or *asat* nature) are due to the will of the Lord, who is the Master of all Reality and Power of creation—*Māyā*. The Kaivalyopanisad says however that the good and evil enjoyment is due to the individuals' creation only, of its own world.

> Svapne sa jīvah sukhaduḥkhabhoktā svamāyayā kalpitaviśvaloke......" (Kaivalya Up. 13).

But how could the individual create for himself anything so hopelessly miserable as that, and then seek to transcend it by annihilating all dreams? The fact is, that dreams of fear and evil are creations of ignorance. With an ignorance coupled with a state of utter loss of consciousness when one is helpless, can any one create anything? Some thinkers deem it possible, because, following the general principle enunciated by the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad, they refer the *Taijasa* activity of the second plane to the individual soul and not to the universal Self. But such a reference, whilst, at first look, right and flattering to the individual, is not seen to be correct. The creators of dream, even according to modern psychologists, are not the individual's imaginative wills but some force, described as élan vital, Unconscious, or some other deep and primitive force that seeks to make man regress into animal life in dreams. This is not the individual's nature taken as such, but what in his biological adventure, he has gathered

as the heritage of evolution, which it is his conscious aim to disgorge and transcend. Undoubtedly, this has its modern touch, the egoistic touch, but the explanations of the dreams, despite the fact that some dreams are explained by some recessive experiences, by some deep and unexplained complexes and repressions, are on the whole as much speculative in their explanations as the ancient view that refers these to psychic forces or Force which is of the moral Lord within the individual who is his Self. Infinite capacity for a finite mind is the paradox that results from the theory which holds that dreams are individual self-creations.

The Physiological aspect of dreams is dealt with in the minor *upaniṣads*. The *Paiṅgalopaniṣad* says that the *Svapna-state* is that in which the senses are at rest, there is manifestation of the knower and the known along with the affinitities of (things enjoyed in) the waking-state.

Kāraṇoparame jāgratsaṁskārārdhaprabodhavadgrāhya-grāhakarūpasphuraṇam svapnāvasthā bhavati. (Paiṅgala, Up. II.)

This clearly supports the view that the *contents* of the dream-experiences are sensory, and are nothing new because already experienced. But non-experienced features or correlations or suggestions might crop up in the dreams. These must be conceivably due to the power of the Inward Ruler Immortal, who dispenses mortal deserts for each individual.

The *Śārīrakopaniṣad* lays stress on the fact that the senses, internal as well as external, are inactive, though the *antaḥkaraṇa* which consists of memory, affinities and selfness and *buddhi*, is active in dream-state.

Antaḥkaraṇacatuṣṭayaireva samyuktam svapnam.

This does not conflict with the view already enunciated. Though the organism which is utilised in dream-experiences is identical with that used during waking-state, the spirit that uses it, is not the individual self but its Inner Lord, who is also the Lord of all souls, *sarvaniyantā*.

The *Sarvasāropaniṣad* declares that in dream the *ātman* experiences subtly through the fourteeen organs (the five organs of knowledge and the five motor organs and the four-fold *antaḥkaraṇa*) associated with the affinities of the waking condition, sound, and other objects which are of the form of affinities, created for the time being, even in the absence of (gross) sound and others.

Tadvāsanāsahitaiścaturdaśakaraṇaiḥ śabdādyabhāvepi vāsanāmayāñchabdādīn yadopalabhate tadātmanaḥ svapnam.

This view is clearly understandable as granting a physiological basis for the sensory reproduction of past experiences.

The *Varāhopaniṣad* (II. 61) declares that

> "The moving about of ***buddhi*** in the subtle *nāḍis* constitute the dreaming state. In me without the act of moving about, there is no dreaming."

> Sūkṣmanāḍiṣu sañcāro buddheḥ svapnaḥ prajāyate.
> Sañcārarahite mayi svapno na vidyate.

This is a description of dream, not as the state of utter inaction and fatigue or rest, but as a state of dynamic movement or exploratory activity of the self in its cognitive experience, namely, ***buddhi*** exclusively.

The *Haṁsopaniṣad* says that the dream occurs when the *jīva* moves on the pericarp of the heart-lotus, and when it enters the centre of the lotus, then there is deep sleep. This merely substantiates the view that it is during the period of the soul's moving out of its lair of deep sleep that there happens dream. The intermediate state mentioned by the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* is recapitualated in terms of mystic description of the heart-lotus as the place of Īśvara,: Īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānāṁ hṛddeśe tiṣṭhati, of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

The *Maitryupaniṣad*[1] propounds the view that

> "In the three a quarter of Brahma moves, a three quarter in the last. For the sake of experiencing

1. Maitrī. Up. VII. 11, 8. cf. Ṛgvedic. view. X. 90.

the true and the false, the great *Ātman* has a dual nature. Yea the great *Ātman* has a dual nature."

The *Māṇḍukya*[1] affirms the greatness of Brahman in the *Svapna-state*. The state is entirely subjective, but it is not the individual subject who is the creator. That function indeed belongs to the Supreme. For in this dream-state there is duality of subject-object.

The *Kaṭhopaniṣad*[2] states that " He who is awake in those who sleep......That is the Bright. That is Brahman, that alone is Immortal. All worlds are contained in it and no one goes beyond.

> Ya yeṣa supteṣu jāgarti kāmaṁ kāmaṁ puruṣo nirmimāṇaḥ
> Tadeva śukraṁ tadbrahma tadevāmṛtamucyate
> Tasmin lokāḥ śritāḥ sarve tadu nātyeti
> Kaścana etadvai tat.

This clinches the issue about the discussion between the individual and the Supreme Being as the creator. As for the physiological state of the organism during sleep and the psychic apparatus in action during sleep and dream, there is nothing that prevents the individual experiencing directly the psychic external forces, and certainly there is nothing that prevents the individual soul from experiencing any experiences granted to it by its own inner and yet transcendent Ruler.

We shall see in the following pages that Śrī Rāmānuja holds the view that dream-state is a state intermediate, that it is the period of experiencing moral deserts, that the creations are by the Supreme Lord for the enjoyment of the individual soul as reward for such activities as are of minor importance, that it is that which leads to the deep sleep-state. The prophetic quality in dreams such as are mentioned in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* is the characteristic activity of the Supreme.[3]

1. Māṇḍūkya Up. XV.
2. Kaṭha. Up. II. 8.
3. Vedāntaūtras : III. ii. 1-6.

The intermediate state is described by the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* (IV. iii. 1) thus

> "There are no chariots in that state, no horses, no roads; then he creates chariots, horses and roads. There are no blessings, happiness, joys and so on. For he is the creator."

To whom does this power to create belong? The second *sūtra* affirms that the individual soul is the creator. The third *sūtra* refutes it, and says that these dreams are due to *Māyā*, are created by the Lord through his *Māyā*. The supreme person, and not the individual soul, is the creator, for the individual is a creature and not a creator. He who is awake in those who sleep, He is the person who creates all. The dream is not illusory experience. It is a real experience. It has a meaning and an ethical purpose. The *Māyā* 'transforms' the experiences and makes them more or less pleasing to the individual. This transformation is not wrought by ignorance but by intelligence that is just and good. The theory of *Mahimā*, greatness, is identical with the theory propounded regarding *Māyā*. It is the activity of the Supreme Lord through His creative power of great wonder and power. It is not an illusion-causing power, though such indeed may be the power of a blinding excellence and transcendent effect. It is a phrase that expresses wonder, *āścaryavācī*, conveying the sense of superior-power. It is true that the individual might experience this *Māyā* in a two-fold manner, one being an experience of wonder and another of illusion.

Further the individual soul being bound, cannot do anything. It is through his growing sense of intelligence that he could, in some measure, reach up to creativity, till finally, on release from his body as well as all material connection, he becomes, though not master of *Māyā*, at least capable of creating something by the grace of the Lord. *It is fundamental to all creativity that he who creates must have intelligence. The Unconscious can create nothing, not even dreams.* It is said that

the slighted dream protests more vigorously than the objects of waking-state, but at least in waking-state the individual is in exercise of his limited intelligence and consciousness, whereas in sleep he is unconscious. The dreams that occur to such an individual, according to Śrī Rāmānuja, could only be those that the Lord wills him to experience through his own psychic apparatus (of which also he is the Lord). The individual's capacity being utterly limited, and the dream-experiences being avowedly far beyond his awakened and waking capacities, it is necessary to affirm that the Supreme Lord alone can grant him such visions. Therefore dreams partake of the quality of visions and not of hallucinations. This is a very important difference. That some of these experiences might be such that have been reviewed by the individual or so made to review by the Lord, is due to the important moral appeal and retributive nature of those dreams. But there are dreams of prophetic quality, dreams such as almost any Hindu knows, and about which there is sufficient literature in almost all other religions, which are said to convey the commands of God. It is quite a common experience with regard to the two temples viz. Tirupati Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara and Sholinghur Nṛsiṁhasvāmin, messages and visions of whom occur only in dreams. The whole literature of Āḷwārs is full of such dream-experiences. It is true that these dreams require careful study. But one thing is certain. These *dreams become true.* Individual's dreams can never have, despite intense *saṅkalpa* or volition or desire, this realizing quality. (As a matter of fact individual creative imagination has a *de-realizing* quality). That such deep demands should invade dreams is not unlikely, but that they should get realization is not due to intensity or to overtaking things by storm, but because its source is *adṛṣṭa,* unknown, in the words of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.* If we ask what this unknown principle is, we find that it is a cloak to hide ignorance. Rightly, Śrī Rāmānuja says that the creator of reality being the Supreme Lord, the dream-creations are creations of the Lord, granting prepleasure and a hope of realization. It

is not wish-fulfilment, for indeed the individual soul is a beggar who wishes to ride.

> "That which depends on one's own wish can have no prophetic quality: and as ill-fortune is not desired, the dreamer would create for himself only such visions as would indicate good fortune. Hence, the creation which takes place in dreams can be the Lord's work only". (Śrībhāṣya III. ii. 6.)

> svapnādhyāyavidaśca svapnaṃ śubhāśubhayossūcakamācakṣate. Sūcakatvaṃ ca svasaṅkalpāyattasya nopapadyate; tathācāśubhasyāniṣṭatvācchubhasya sūcakameva sṛṣṭvā paśyet. Ataḥ svapne sṛṣṭirīśvareṇaiva kṛtā.

Thus the arguments for the dreams being creations of the individual being baseless, since much of what an individual deems to be his imaginations come with an objectivity and reality and transcendence not his, though they are expressed or presented in terms that he could personally more than any other understand, the creative activity of the Lord through His *Māyā* is clearly determined. Further, the state of his psychic life during dreams, precludes his creatorship since he is more a *receiver* of impression than the *maker* of them. He might even be the hero, as he is intended to be, of his dreams, but that does not mean that he is the creator of himself. The dreams have the nature of being the fruits of the individual's actions, they are the results of his *karma* in his waking-state, the fruits that are daily dispensed, since they refer to minor deeds.

We can now sum up Indian Dream psychology according to Śrī Rāmānuja.

A finite, unintelligent or ignorant being, and asleep, can *create* nothing not even Self-delusions and illusions.

An infinite Being, Absolutely intelligent and eternally awake, alone can create *Reality*-Sat because it is *cit* and

Ananda, the creative sign of Perfection and utter transcendence. (Tait-ānandavallī.")

1. Reality is made or created by Īśvara only. None else except those whose intelligence is informed by the Lord and who have got rid of their material natures and bodies can ever create anything.
2. In the universal function of creation as a whole, there is no place for the individual. *Janmād yasya yataḥ* (V. S. I. 1. 2.) The self-illusive power is one of ignorance. But it cannot be called creation or manifestation because its function is to hide, to veil, and not to manifest. The entire real creative activity, *Jagadvyāpāra*, is of the Lord, as it is in the case of *Prakṛti* or nature, so it is in the case of dreams, which are creations within the individual.
3. All dreams are real, because they are not subjectively caused by oneself. They have prophetic character as well as ethical justification. They evoke feelings of joy and sorrow and ecstasy and pleasure. Good dreams leave after-results of bodily fitness, whilst evil dreams leave us physically weak.
4. In so far as the individual becomes self-controlled and participates in the life of the Divine and leads a moral life of self-consecration and self-surrender to the Divine, he would get himself freed from evil dreams. And if his moral life increases in its intensity, the dreams themselves lead to real experiences. That is to say, the true dreams, dreams that are bridges to reality, occur. Man's dreams become true. Mind becomes the bridge to the supreme consciousness. When the dream is said to happen at twilight, the *sandhyā*, between the waking and the deep sleep, between the *jāgrat* and the *suṣupti*, what is suggested is that it leads to the ultimate transcendence which is by way of making the consciousness in dream essentially receptive of the Divine Creative manifestation within

oneself, a creative manifestation that is at once of joy and bliss, of reality, and prophetic of the future.

5. In the quiet *recipient* mind alone there happens, and can happen, true creation; it is then that it is the "pleasure-ground" of the Lord. In that, Bliss is the Master. Dreams are true and objective and are essentially moral deserts of minor actions, good and bad.

This is the conclusion that Śrī Rāmānuja arrives at.

Without taking into consideration the mainly theological explanation of the dream-state given by Śrī Rāmānuja and limiting our criticism to two fundamental postulates of the theory of dreams propounded by him, we find that:

(i) Not all dreams are of the prophetic type. It may be that the prophetic type of dream is the dream that would be really true and valuable for human conduct. It may be that we *ought to* demand of our dream-experience more and more conformity to this type. The fact that our normal experience *does not* conform to this one type is sufficient criticism against its acceptance.

(ii) The second type of dream is that of retributive nature. This retributive view might be held in one of two ways or even both, according to the intensity of conscience at work in dream-states.

1. Dreams might be reactions, terrific and explosive, of waking conscious behaviour, as in the case of Lady Macbeth, Richard III, or even in so many cases of murderers, where sweet sleep refuses to come in to drown the impressions and leaves them in night-mares. The dream night-mares are sufficient punishments for misbehaviour.

2. That the reactions are certainly not the autonomous compensation of the nervous system or individual conscience, is certain. Explanations are not wanting in referring this to the social 'super-ego',

> and other such mythical entities. The *Karma* theory of retributive justice wherein there is not only a code of penalties for transgressions but also rewards for conformities and good behaviour, is capable of explaining the principle of retributive dream. The only rub is that the dream-penal code is not available. We feel in our hearts the presence of the law. We perhaps have sufficient belief in God's justice and Goodness to feel that right shall have its rewards and wrongs their punishments; but the law of retributive action is the law that is beyond our understanding in so far as actual relationships between punishments and their causes are concerned. The theory that general happiness and of general deterioration of consciousness results from good or bad deeds is not acceptable at least in the sphere of dream-interpretation.

Further, the moral theory of dream as deserts for *minor* misdemeanours or good offices is quite welcome, only the language of recompense and retribution is speculative and appears to be unreal. It remains a mystery how Caraka was able to link up certain dreams with diseases of a particular kind and certain other dreams with successes and recovery. For that matter, the *Chāndogya*'s interpretation of dream of woman as meaning success is also inexplicable. Perhaps the only truth behind these is that these theories are due to the 'consensus of opinion' at that date. *Varying cultural environments lead to varieties of interpretations.*

The eloquent tribute that Prof. C. G. Jung pays to Indian psychological insight bears reproduction here. "Our western air of superiority in the presence of Indian Understanding is a part of our essential barbarism, for which any true perception of the quite extraordinary depth of those ideas and their amazing psychological accuracy is still but a remote possibility." (*Psychological Types*. p. 262). Despite this, it is clear that the

distinction between the inner creative power of the Divine and the individual is not cleary marked out by the thinkers. At any rate, we find that the symbolism underlying the several interpretations leaves much scope for future research. The general principle that no creation of the real experience ever happens without real power or creative power endowed with intelligence is absolutely correct. Illusions might be created by individuals, due to their individual defects of the organism, excitement, or due to really existing similarities in the objects enjoyed. The hallucinatory theory of dreams is not warranted by facts of the normal order. To explain the normal by means of the abnormal is a modern hobby; but the normal is a more complex phenomenon than the one-sided theories originating from the sphere of the abnormal.

Even granting that some dreams are no better than illusions, we might say that the dreams are real, because they have real *causes*. Physical stimuli, psychological stimuli, moral causes, psychical influences in the receptive state of dream are real and do actually produce results. Dreams are thus possessed of causes and have certain definite ends: either to be defensive mechanisms, or to be the moral fields realizing happiness or sorrow for the individual. Anything that has a cause and a consequence or end is real. Dreams undoubtedly possess this characteristic. It may be contended that another criterion of reality might vitiate this view. But what else is the criterion of reality? It cannot be momentariness or non-eternity merely. Dreams are necessarily links between several planes of consciousness and possess diverse qualities or phenomena, namely, (1) facts of the presentative order, (2) of the representative order, (3) of the creative order and (4) of the physiological order. Therein lies the difficulty of giving a single interpretation for these phenomena. Śrī Rāmānuja's view in so far as it focusses attention on the moral and the prophetic view, which clinches the issue between the individual and the Divine creationism, is a contribution to the study of further possibilities of a truly creative consciousness. It is not ruled

out certainly for an eternally vigilant consciousness, in its periods of intensive manifestation, to create for itself dreams, but then such a state might well cease to be a dream-state. The dream-state thus gets abolished finally.

INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY OF DREAMS

The nature of dreams generally has been studied, not from the stand-point of view of psychology, but mostly, from the stand-point of the theory of knowledge in the several schools. The study of dreams, however, is necessarily a question not merely as to what they are as processes of the mind, but also as to what the contents of such experience are.

The physiological and medical school of Indian thought, as found in the writings of Caraka, definitely studies dreams from the stand-point of how and why dreams occur.

> The "learned know that dreams are of seven kinds, namely, seen, heard, felt, desired, imagined, prognosticating, and fault-born." says Caraka. (*Indriyasthāna* V. 42)[1]

Thus the dreams are of sensory-kind, of volitional kind and of the imaginative kind, and in addition to these we have the pathological dreams.[2] There is the authority of Ribot (*Psychology of Emotions* p. 142) that there are dreams wherein taste as well as smell predominate. We know from our own experience that there are dreams which clearly are of the gustatorial kind, as well as of the olfactory. This theory corresponds with the view that there are types of men whose perception is naturally of any one of the five or six kinds of sensations. That is, there are people who

1. Cf. Conceptual Psychology of Ancient Hindus: F. S. Hammet Psycho-Analytic Review. p. 301.

2. W. Lutoslawski mentions another class of dreams: cf. *Pre-existence and Reincarnation* p. 60. "Short of complete reminiscence, certain dreams may imply forgotten lives······Sometimes people and places known from dreams are met later on in the waking-state and recognized.

see songs, taste songs or smell songs, just as there are people who hear or taste or smell or feel a picture and so on. They are known as auditory type, visual type, olfactory, gustatory, and tactual types. Therefore it is, that some people have dreams wherein there are auditory or visual etc., images in prominence.[1]

The sensory, the volitional, and the imaginary are normal dreams. The abnormal are the pathological and the prophetic dreams. The pathological state might itself be capable of being the seat of prognosis. Prophetic dreams occur under peculiar physiological conditions not usually normal. The pathogenic types are due to dissociations of memory, and physiological diseases. The prophetic types of dreams are indeed the most significant part of dream-life. No theory of dream is acceptable unless it could in some definite manner explain the prophetic dreams. Pathological dreams could be explained perhaps as due to the "interference of the *nāḍis* (nerves) that carry the impressions of the external objects to the sensorium or the mind by the three faults of wind, bile and phlegm" (Caraka). They may be due to the chief cause, as asserted by the modern thinkers and psycho-analysts who have revolutionized our ideas of dream-life, namely, dissociation of mental life. This dissociation is a common enough phenomenon as William Brown has affirmed, *science and personality* as could be seen in the very ordinary acts of classification and regulation of daily work. We dissociate as well as associate our experiences in order to establish order and efficiency in our life. Without some sort of planned grouping, it is impossible to be mentally or even physically efficient. To emphasize dissociation and not to take into account association is wrong observation. What exactly happens in dreams is that some tendencies which are fundamental to life, like self-preservation and self-perpetuation which in waking-consciousness appear as self and sex, have the

1. It is also possible that people of any one of the above types might experience other types of imagery as compensations in dream-state. That is one of the reasons why dreams appear as uncommon and novel.

power to attach themselves to their respective experiences of the waking-life and to appear always in that specific grouping. This is the association as well as the dissociation that happens in regard to specific interests. This attachment becomes more firm through exercise. Finally there is no life or being for the interest apart from its amplified experiences, nor for the experiences apart from the nucleus of interest. This is the meaning of *specificity*[1] of instincts in animals and of interests in human beings. This specificity is generally useful for the preservation of human life and action. Our actions are each one of them individual, that is, the ends they seek are different indeed from those of others.

But when is dissociation, or association its correlative, pathogenic ? It is when there happens obstruction of a serious order incapable of being faced by the individual that the dissociation which was helpful in organizing life, becomes a serious menace to the unity of the organism. The struggle for unity or for self it is that disjuncts interests, seeks reorganization of life's several experiences on the basis of new wants and for the sake of meeting new situations. Either we plan our life afresh or we perish. When, however, it is found that the individual is incapable of making this adjustment of his mental life, by breaking the groupings in order to bring about a new order, there happens what is called *mania* (monoideism), meloncholia and depressive insanity, hallucination and other diseases. The source of this incapacity lies in the emotional life of the individual Every instinct or interest has, as it were, a quantity of energy for its fulfilment. McDougall made this point rather clear when he said that every instinct has its specific emotion. When Prof. James and Lange stated their much criticized, and perhaps even abandoned, theory of emotions,—that we run and then are afraid,—the truth which they attempted to establish was that fear is the psychological state of the body, whereas its counterpart was the motor act of running away, that they are one and the same thing viewed, of

1. William McDougal's phrase.

course, from two standpoints, not mutually irreconcilable. So we find that the energy of performance when impeded, finds its dissociation (or association) emphasized in the mental sphere. But as has been pointed out by Prof. Hollingworth, (*Psychology of Thought*)[1] this dissociation or association, which in his terminology he calls ' redintegration ', is not something exclusively of the dream-state. The very fact that such ' redintegrations ' do normally occur even in the waking-state, where also the life-interests dominantly seek to play their rôles and achieve or realize their goals, shows that the processes, said to be specially of the Unconscious, are not such. Of course, there is possible the explanation that what we knew of reality in the waking-state is just a segment, the central umbra of consciousness, the others shading off into the subconscious and the unconscious. Such indeed is the explanation of most of our biological theories. Consciousness is the smallest fragment of the Unconscious that has become conscious due to life-interests finding no other way of meeting new situations. Consciousness it has been said by one great writer is a consequence of interference or rather it is consciousness of interference.

We shall not be able to canvass the above theories in all their details at this place. Suffice it to say, that the theory is not specially of the dream-consciousness. Because dream-consciousness is also a state of unconsciousness or an ' intermediate ' stage between deep sleep and the waking, the theory of the so-called Unconscious cannot be said to avail. Further the Unconscious is not such an unconscious, because we know something about it. Obviously, that is the reason why the Unconscious is said to be *dynamic* Unconscious, that is, an unconscious that is seeking to become conscious, an unintelligent that is seeking to become or parade as conscious. Indian thinkers have already come across a theory like this. It is not a new discovery. It is the *prakṛti* of *Sāṅkhya*, the *Māyā* of *Vedānta* of *Śaṅkara*, the Ignorance of Buddhism.

5. Studied *via* dream-experiences.

The new point about this theory is that it speaks of the experiences of the past or the constellations of interests that have been in some manner relinquished in waking-life as undergoing 'transformation.' What is this transformation about? Into what does it transform itself? These two questions are important. The transformation occurs on account of two facts. Every sensory stimulus does get its reaction or response from the body. When the body is awake, or rather, when the sense-organs are alert, then there is correct reception of the outer stimulus. If on the other hand, the sense-organs are asleep, that is to say, when they are either closed or inattentive, as in the 'Intermediate state' or the twilight of consciousness we have the reflex activity of the sense-organs taken up by the brain-centres directly. There happens *confusion*,[1] *vikāra*, transformation, constellating or grouping of past similar experiences around it, and, thus, we have the primitive formation of symbols of a new type, distinct indeed from the ordinary analogous substitutions of the waking-life.[2] As already said, symbols are the life and soul of all thinking, but in dream the symbols are not merely the life and soul, they are the stage also of their entire drama.

The principle of transformation is a well-understood fact in Indian Psychology. Objects of the waking consciousness recur in dream state; there is nothing that is not in the waking that is not in the dream-state. The presentative theory of dreams which holds that there in no dream without some outer or inner stimulus of the sensory kind which, so to say, starts the process of dreaming, is held by the *Nyāya* thinkers. This is said to be the reason for the particularity that is the characteristic of dreams. It is possible to *think* in general terms or in terms of generality, but it is impossible to *dream* in terms of

1. "Desire, confusion, anxiety and recollection of sense-objects, these are the four *kāḷıs* that belong to the dreaming state." *Lalitā-sahasranāma*.

2. Cf. A. N. Whitehead: *Symbolism*; C. Spearman: *Creative Mind*.

generality. All impressions are particular and represent general ideas. That is the meaning of the word 'symbol', and however much these symbols might be made to stand for a class of objects or impressions of experiences, they are particular and refuse to be converted into general ideas. The function of these transformations or correlative references or symbolic substitutions is suggestion. And suggestion though it is importantly dealt with in Aesthetics under the concept of *dhvani*, is indeed all in the dream-land. A faint or sharp and intense gleam of light affecting the closed eye in sleep kindles, so to say, the images of Moon in the bright half of the month, and assumes colours and fanatic forms that dreams only can conjure up. A faint rustle or a whistle perhaps calls up the imaginary train, or of thoughts and impressions of the beloved, and so on, according to the predominant mood or state of mind that is anxious to catch at something to feed upon and enjoy or be afraid of and wild in terror. In this sense, the dream-state is very near artistic life. Whereas the control on the artist's mind is conscious and deliberate, possessed of the dominant idea which he seeks to paint or chistle or carve, the dream-state at least has not that conscious aim. As Gonzalo R. Lafora says

> "Dreams, like artistic creations, are attempts of the Unconscious mind to dominate and to overcome the conscious, that is to say, they are attempts at returning to the primitive life in which the individual satisfied his desires without regard to the interests of the species."
>
> "*Don Juan and other Psychological Studies.*" p. 173.

This view is not altogether warranted, since it speaks about the dream as if it were entirely an escape-phenomenon, an escape from our moral and cultural life to the primitive self-sufficient egoistic life of self-satisfaction. It is enough to call this position, as not true to all facts. Animals are as much gregarious as ourselves; and as for primitive men, studies into primitive culture, do not reveal that egoistic thrust, at

any rate, to the extent that Lafora claims for them. Studies of Frazer, of Bartlett, and others clearly show that the social life of the primitive has certainly not an abnormal stress on the egoistic, and, in spite of the system of taboos and totems which social life amongst them has enforced, they are not people who suffer from dreams to the same extent that modern men suffer from. Dreams in the primitive society are few. It is a dreaded visitation. They have made the dreamers be considered as equal to the witches. Dream is a deep disease and not a common ailment. The reason is not far to seek; the symbolic redintegration in the life of the primitive is undeveloped, just as in the case of infants. Dreams involve high suggestibility, correlative 'frenzy', as it were, that makes them phenomena of a different order than what Psycho-analysis on the basis of any one fundamental instinct like sex (Freud), or superiority neurosis (Adler), or as actions of a racial or universal libido (Jung) can explain. The importance of dream-study lies in its showing its efficient and abnormal correlative synthesis. Psychic defects tend to exaggerate the neurosis set up by the suggestibility of correlations between experiences and objects that usually do not tend to be grouped or analogued.

The state of dream in which such frenzied correlations happen is not the deep sleep, despite Du Prel who holds that deep sleep alone can give us an intimate cue into the dream-life of the self.

Now, therefore, one conclusion at last emerges, that sensory stimuli undergo transformations in the dream-state when the outer reception through the sense-organs is not available. The nervous system responds as a whole in the reception of the stimuli, even though otherwise non-active.

The second question that we addressed ourselves to was into what does a stimulus transform itself. Certainly into images. The content of the dream-experiences is not different from the experiences of our waking state. That is, the images appear to be just what we have already experienced.[3] The

3. Yoga-sūtras I, 38 " Svapna-nidrājñāna-ālambanam."

visual, auditional, gustatory, tactual impressions convert themselves into images, and all our experiences appear to be representations of our waking life. No new and unknown things, that is to say, images of things that we have not seen ever occur. In other words, the representative view of dreams holds that we do not get new knowledge through dreams. The past, it is said, unrolls itself before us in our dreams. But this is not true, since we know that we do perceive new correlations worked out by the active explorative symbolic action of the mind, and it is affirmed by very many investigators that they do get at new knowledge in dreams. Also dreams that are prophetic are new, and do not depend upon man's unconscious volitions. Man unfortunately can create nothing without knowledge; and the ability to create without knowledge is the basic principle of Unconscious activity. The view that Bergson upholds that there is no sleep-state at all,[1] that we only get limited views of reality through the seives of senses, and that in dream we are nearer the core of the ubiquitous reality, and are, on the whole, in closer touch with the outer reality, is, assuming it to be true, incapable of being justified on the basis of the inner symbolic reference and transformations that happen to reality in our dream-life. The senses are said to be externally active in waking state, and interiorly active in the dream-state according to Udayana and writers of the *Nyāya* school, because the objects in the dream-state appear as if they are external to the individual just as waking experiences. This position is utilised by certain other thinkers to say that the objectivity that we do find in dream is not real objectivity, but a subjective positing, a placing outside so to say, (*anstoss* in Fichte's language) and as such unreal or subjective creations. This view it is that is upheld by the *Vijñānavādins*, and added to their theory of perpetual momentariness, it means that they have characteristic shiftings of correlations, and as such they are momentary, not merely in

1. Lecture at the 'Institute Psychologique' 1901 (cf. Mind-Energy: Tr. H. Wildon carr.)

the sense that they cease on our waking up, but also in the sense that they are, even within dreams, not of any duration.

The upshot of the whole discussion is that in dreams we have sensory images, and the contents of the experiences do not go beyond what we know. Representations of past experiences happen, and no objects other than what we know appear, though there might happen new correlations. Bergson's view of dream is unacceptable, since the dream-state is a state of recipience. Though there is a type of activity that apparently is free from the limitations of the waking consciousness and the constraints of external objects, the dream-state suffers from limitations, indeed, more serious than the previous, in so far as it is not a conscious-state of life. That it possesses a rationality of its own, that the associative processesi n the dream-state are governed by certain fundamental interests need not be gainsaid, but that that it reveals the creative activity of the individual as such, is not substantiated. Therefore Mrs. Arnold Forster's view that in dreams there is reasoning or a rationale might well be accepted; only we find that when we retrace or carefully recollect the dream. The dream-poetry of Coleridge, the dream-novel writing of Stevenson, are recollective visions, and as Mrs. Arnold Forster herself affirms, there is an objectivity of the dream which it is difficult to refer to the individual's intelligent or creative action. The phenomena of induced drowsiness cannot be called dreams.

Further,

> "If it is sometimes hard to believe that the actors who took part in these dreams come, not from without but from within our own consciousness, the belief is even harder in the case of dreams which seem to give back to us for a little while the presence of those whom we have loved and who are parted from us. They come to us in 'clear and solemn vision'— we do not question how they come ; their presence seems for the moment as real as the comfort that they bring." (Mrs Arnold Forster *Studies in Dreams*. P. 178).

The theory of two selves is interesting. She calls the other self, the guide, the infallible helper of her dreaming consciousness, once we accept him and take shelter under his wings. The view of *Antaryāmin* in Indian Dream Psychology come readily into the mind. The individual in sleep seeks rest in the heart-lotus, where dwells the Lord within. The Inner Ruler Immortal has His home in the heart of all creatures. As the *Haṁsopaniṣad* says the soul moves in the pericarp of the heart-lotus in the intermediate state of dream, prior to sinking into the centre of the lotus. The function of experiencing, cognizing and enjoying is yet with the individual; deprived he is indeed from the volitional or active motor functions. The cognizing function continues yet in a very subdued state in the third state, but no longer does the individual experience his experiences past or present. It is in the second state, as the *Māṇḍukyopaniṣad* says, the individual revels in in emotional experiences. The *prāṇic* forces are actively perceiving experiences but without their motor concomitants. This state cannot be said to be comparable to the ideational state of exploratory imagination, the trying out of alternatives on paper or by diagramatic representations, prior to action. Dream may be a child state of " the enchanted tower ", but it is not the state of primitive regression, except in pathological cases of frustration or exaggerated self-egoism or shock.

We have said that there is a guide in the state of dream, the friend who helpfully takes us into the tower of wonders, the 'ivory tower' of poets to which they go for refuge from the bustle and hustle of active life. Moral life there is not in evidence, but there is quiet and joy. As the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* said, it is a pleasure-house of toys, chariots, horses and what not. But there are also the evil dreams which we have to experience, since of such is our active life in the world made. Moral life makes dreams happy, immoral life brings about dreams that are of fear, terror and misery. Fear is at the root of most dreams that are unhappy. Fear is at the root of moral delinquency, and the conquest of fear it is

conquers dreams that are evil. In this conquest trust in the Lord, as in the case of Yoga which counsels *Īśvarapraṇiāhana*, is absolutely necessary. The sustaining hand of a guide in the distress of mere emotional outbursting of inner life at the mercy of outer forces, psychic and physical, as well as inner forces of habitual nature, it is that thwarts evil. What *citta-vṛtti-nirodha* achieves in *Yoga*, that is what is also sought to be achieved by devotion to the Divine Lord. The quiet resigned attitude of the individual finite soul towards the fruits of *karma* dispensed in waking-life as well as in dream-life, in the form of joys in waking-life and pleasant recreations in dream-life, leads finally to the transcendence which grants utter felicity.

A higher consciousness that knows more and not less, a power within us that is superior to us, which whilst individually in each is transcendent in all, that alone can explain the prophetic dream. Dream in its fullest significant sense can only be this, according to some thinkers. It is not the so-called dream that is not different from the day-dream, or the imaginations but the prophetic, that makes the future *true* that is significant of the dream life. Secondly, if wish-fulfilment is said to be that which is achieved in dreams, as compensations for failures or successes during the waking-state, more or less intense reflexions of waking experiences and their psychic-retroactivities, then it is not true in regard to all experiences. Sometimes, or rather, more often than not, we find that we dream not at our will, but at the dictation of some other self.[1] No doubt the dictation might come from the pathological state moving in its own manner, or it might be from the physical or physiological condition at a particular moment. All the evidence that we have shows that dreams, even wish-fulfilments, are not to be had at our will: they are not made to order. Mrs. Arnold Forster though holding the view that dreams could be created by her, finally says that she even was not able to get dreams

1. Buddhism hold that dreams might be due to clairvoyant influences, *Compendium of Philosophy*. S. Z. Aung. p. 48.

when she wanted them. In this case, dreams like mystic inspirations or inventions as Prof. Montmasson has shown, (*Inventions and the Unconscious*) do not wait on our will; rather we have to wait anxiously for their coming.

The theory that *Viśiṣṭādvaita* holds is that the Divine Lord in every individual, does all. In dream-state He Who is awake when all are asleep, Who is the master of creation, never devoid of intelligence, and has fullest *Vikāsa*, grants such dreams as the indivitual can understand and appreciate in terms of his own experiences. This is the reason why the content of all dream-experience is something within each individual. The intimations of new things also are possible because the Lord within is transcendent to all individuals. The experiences though having peripheral stimulations undergo transformation according to the deserts of their actions. The moral view taken up by *Viśiṣṭādvaita* is in keeping with the Vedic view which says that Varuṇa knows all that happens in the secret places of the heart and dispenses justice. (Ṛgveda Seventh Maṇḍala). The objective power of projecting of the subjective facts is impossible to the individual *antaḥkaraṇa*, *buddhi* or memory, since in the state of dream, despite their activity, they are receptive and not self-active.

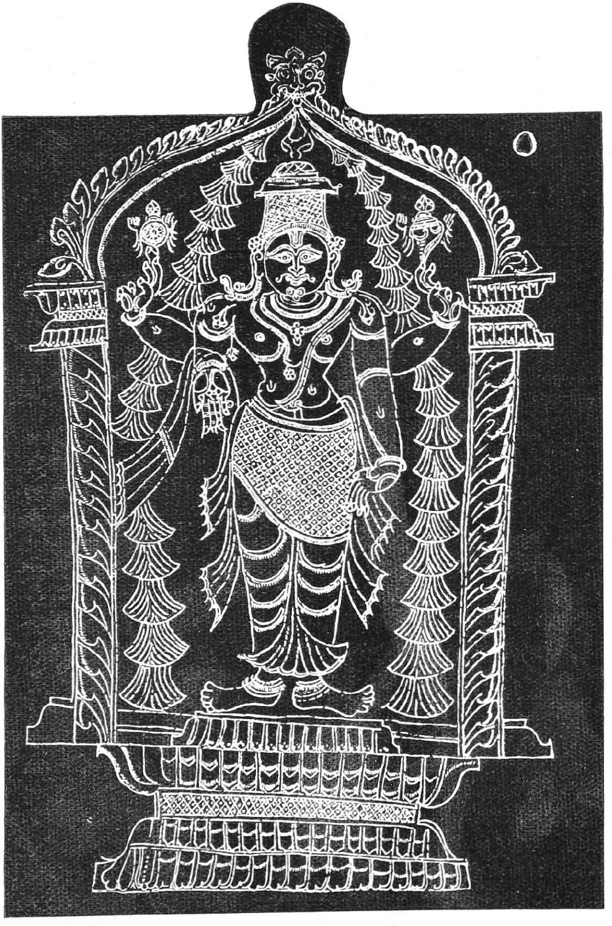
The illusive power is not so much the power to illuse, as it is to grant the individual enjoyment that he could understand and wish to possess. It is the granting of what he wishes to have that gives pleasure; the deprivation of what he wishes to have causes misery. Frustration is the lot of all. But even to achieve for the good acts one does, however slight they might be, deserts that are pleasure-giving, is to enable the individual to strive to do more good. The impossible (?) theory of *karma* that posits that our present birth is a consequence of our past activities, wherein the nature of the relationship between the act and its desert is not clearly indicated as in the Penal Codes of our human making, is in some manner mitigated by the *karma-theory* of dreams wherein we get our pleasurable deserts in our sleep.

Caraka and other writers on *Svapna-śāstra* give us indications of a good dream and good life (XII chapter of the *Indriyasthāna Caraka-saṁhitā*); and there is famous passage of the *Chāndogya* which says that if one sees a woman in dreams success he there may recognize (5. 2. 9). Confucianism posits that dreams of snakes forebode daughters, though it is found that this is not true. On the other hand, certain experiences show that it forebodes abortion. The dream of Mahā-viṣṇu, for Śri Kṛṣṇa-devarāya meant, according to certain of his astrologers and interpretors of dreams, "acquisition of more women"! (*Āmuktamālyada.* I-18). The interpretation of dreams is as difficult as it could be. But the Psycho-analysis of Freud has not made the task easier. Here is another case of new mythology, but it does good in so far as we are forgetting old ones![2]

Our individual wills operate undoubtedly in dream in a negative manner, a purely biological manner, of keeping watch over the body. The entire physiological system though at rest is aware indeed of itself. We know that when an unknown danger occurs, we are awakened at once. But this does not warrant a complete statement of absolute creative activity of the self in dream. The psychological truth is that we are aware of our sleep-state, that is, that we were asleep, and that we slept soundly. But no more.

Dreams thus form a very interesting study of our mental life, its receptivity to outer forces, psychic (that is even of other higher powers perhaps) and physical, though the normal dream is of the ethical type, due to the granting of pleasure or pain as deserts for our minor good activities by the Lord within. The more the dreamer becomes moral, receptive and capable of self-control, the more true would his dreams become, that is, they more and more conform to the prophetic type of communion with the Divine. One's dreams get realised in a truer sense than one's wishes are said to get realised in the doctrine of *Saṅkalpasiddhi.*

2. "Itodhika-bahu-preyasī-prāpti".



COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

OF

TAḶḶAPĀKA TIRUVEṄGAḶANĀTHA ISSUED FROM TIRUCĀNŪR

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A.

This inscription is incised on two copper-plates; the first side of the first plate has the figure of God Veṅkaṭeśvara engraved while the lower half of the second side of the second plate has an engraved figure of Goddess Padmāvatī. The measurements of the plates are:—

1st plate—$11\frac{1}{4}' \times 8'$

2nd plate—$11\frac{3}{16}' \times 8\frac{1}{16}'$

Thickness—$\frac{1}{16}'$

A projecting piece is attached at the middle on the top of each plate to hold it conveniently or if this were *holed*, both of them could have been secured in a ring. The piece was probably intended for such purpose which was not executed. It measures $1\frac{1}{2}'$ by $1'$ but the top portion of the piece is rounded as an arc.

The *ūrdhvapuṇḍra* which lies at the beginning of the inscription represents the Teṅgalai sect, probably, the same as Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, the poet, belonged to.

1. శ్రీరామా॥ స్వస్తిశ్రీ విజయాభ్యుదయ శాలివాహన శకవర్షం
బులు ౧౪౬౩ అగు నేటి శుభకృతునామ సంవత్సర

2. కార్తీక శు ౧౫ లు శ్రీమతె రామానుజాయనమః శ్రీ మద్వేద
మార్గ ప్రతిష్టాపనాచార్యులయ్ని శ్రీమదలమేలుమంగా
సంపాదిత

3. సంమ్మోన్మద శ్రీ వెంకటనాథ వరప్రసాదలబ్ధ మంత్రగాన మనో
హర కవితాసామ్రాజ్య దురంధ్ధర పరచిత నిజ సంకీర్తన సకలజన

4. సింహాసన సకల దిగంత్తర హారకీర్త్తి ప్రతాపోభయ వేదాంత్తా
చార్యులయ్ని భారద్వాజ సగోత్ర పవిత్ర ఆశ్వలాయనసూత్ర

5. ఋచశ్శాఖాధ్యాయులయ్ని తాళ్ళపాక అన్నమాచార్య ప్రకాండ్డస
భార్య పుత్ర తింమ్మార్యనందన రత్నకుంభ దత్త మకరకుండ్డ

6. లయుగ్మమండ్డిత కర్ణ సకల వైష్ణవపాద సంశ్శేవకాబ్జ సదనా
వధూలబ్ధ సరసకవిత్వ విదితమానస తిరువేంగ్గళనాథయ్య

7. దివ్యశ్రీపాద పద్మములకు అనంత్తములయ్ని సాష్టాంగ్గ దండ్డ
ములు సమర్పించ్చి స్వస్తి సమస్త విస్తారభువన దివ్యమూ· సం

8. ధ్ధాయమాన సముత్తుంగ్గ శ్రీమత్త్కైలాసపర్వత సముత్తుంగ్గ రంగ్గ
స్తలంబ్బున కల్పవృక్షాశ్రిత దివ్యహాటక మహావేదిక దివ్యకల్యాణ

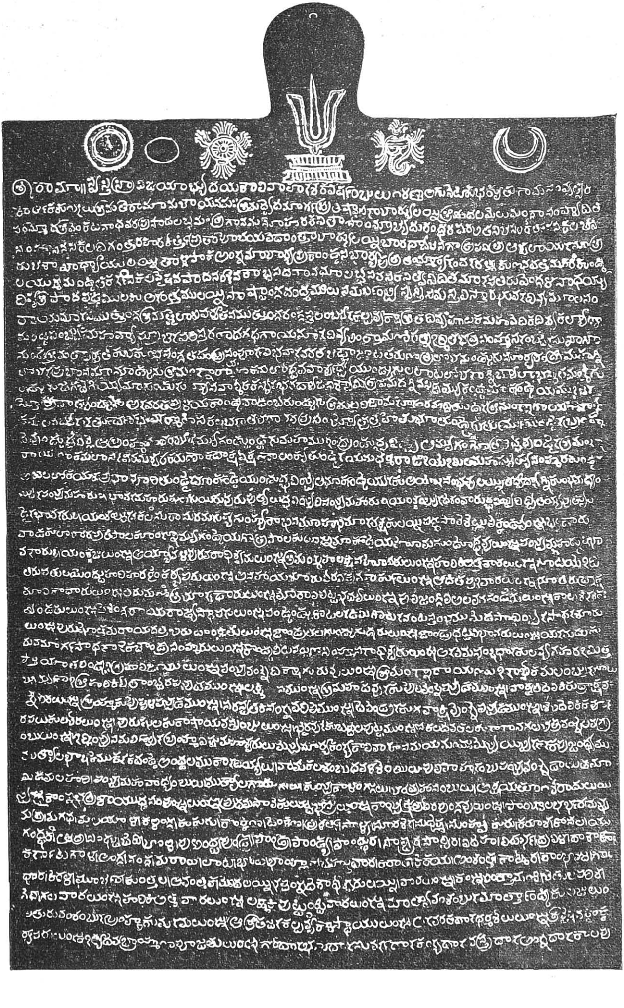
9. మంట్టపంబ్బున మహావ్యాఘ్రా జినపరిస్తరణ దగధగాయమాన
దివ్య చింత్తామణి రత్ననిర్మిత భద్రసింహాసనంబ్బున సుఖాసీ

10. నుండ్డై శ్రీ మత్పార్వతీ కుచ కుంభ సంగ్గత దంష్ట్ర సంపూర్ణ
విభవాన వరత జటాజూట తరుణత్రిలోచ నుండ్డును సూర్య చంద్ర
మహాగ్ని

11. లోచన ప్రభాసమానుండ్డును శ్రీమన్నారాయణ కమలోద్భవ
పార్శ్వద్వయుండ్డును లలాటలోచనాగ్ని జ్వాలాభస్మిత మంన్మధు

12. ండ్డును జగజ్జేయ్యమానుండును వ్యాసవాల్మీక కస్యప భరద్వాజ
విశ్వామిత్ర జమదగ్ని వసిష్ట మృకండ మార్కండ్డేయ మునిజన

13. స్తోత్రపాత్రుండ్డును అనవరతప్రళయ కాండ్డవాతంబరుండ్డును
శ్రీమద్గిరిజా మనోహరవంద్దితుండ్డైన శ్రీమంన్నారాయణ నాభీ



14\. కమలంబ్బున చతుర్దశ భువన నిర్మ్మాణ సకల భూతచరాచర ప్రపంచోత్పత్తి హేతుభూతుండైన చతుర్ముఖుండైన బ్రంహ్మ

15\. దేవుండ్డుద్భవిల్లె ఆ బ్రంహ్మవంశంబున మృంగడ్డుండను మహా మునీంద్రుండుద్భవించ్చె ఆ మృగండ్డు గ్రోతోద్భవండైన శ్రీ మంన్నా

16\. రాయణ కమలాసన పరమేశ్వర కరుణాకటాక్ష వీక్షణాలంకృతుం డైన యమధర్మరాజుని యెనిమిత మహామృత్యు సంహ్మారకుండైన

17\. అఖిలలోకయశః ప్రభాపూరితుండైన మార్కండేయుండుద్భ వించ్చె ఆమార్కండేయునకు అయోనిసంభవులయ్ని తద్వద్యాగ్ని శుంభ మధ్యం

18\. బ్బున పంచ్చ మహారుషి భావన మహారుషులను యిరువురు పుత్ర లుద్భవించ్చిరి పంచ్చ మహారుషి యంశ్మంబ్బున దేశంవారుద్భ వించ్చిరి ద్వితియ్య పుత్రుం

19\. డైన భావనరుషి యంశంబ్బున సకల సురాసుర మనుష్యగుంహ్యా కాభిసమూహాభిమాన రక్షకులయ్ని పద్మసాలె శెట్లు పెక్కం డ్రుంన్ను భండారు

20\. వాడ కులాచార ప్రతిపాలకులుంన్నూ మృగండేయ గోత్రపాలకు లుంన్ను మార్కండ్డేయ హోమగుండోద్భవులుంన్ను పంచ మహా రుషి భా

21\. వనారుషి యంశ్మజులుంన్ను అయ్యావళి పురవరాధీశ్వరుంన్ను శ్రీమంన్మహాలక్ష్మి సహోదరులుంన్ను హారికి అత్తవారలుంన్ను నూటయెనిమిది

22\. తిరుపతులయెంద్దు హరిహర కైంకర్యపరులుంన్ను అసహాయ

శూరు నీరవిక్రమార్కులున్ను ఆడితప్పనివారలున్ను భూతి
రుద్రాక్ష

23. మాలికాధారులున్ను తిరుమణి శ్రీ చూర్ణధారులున్ను
మోకాలి పట్టభద్రులున్ను పులిజంగ్గిలి అలవరగండరులున్ను
కాల్వ శేనశిరః

24. ఖండరులున్ను దేశింగ్గరాయ రాజ్యస్థాపనులున్ను పండెండ్డు
కోటలనడిమి కోటనవంటి స్తంభము మెడసాధించిన సాధనశూరు

25. లున్ను పురుషోత్తమరాయదత్త బిరుదాంకితులున్ను జాండ్ర
తలగుండ్డుగుడ్డరులున్ను జాండ్రధట్టివిభావరులున్ను యనమదలకు

26. రువమార్గ సాధనానిక జాండ్ర సంహ్మారులున్ను కొండ్డవీటి
పట్టణ సింహ్మాసనాధీశ్వరులున్ను అనలేమసంన్నిధానకుల వ్యవ
హార నిమిత్తా

27. ప్తాయాతపిండ్డ నిగ్రహావిజయులున్ను పంచ్చవంన్నె దీక్షాగురువు
లున్ను శ్రీమంన్నారాయణుని నాభీకమలంబ్బున నూలు

28. బ్బుచ్చుకొని శ్రీహరికి పీతాంబ్బర పచ్చడమున్ను లక్ష్మి (కి)
సమున్ను శ్రీమహాదేవునకు పాలివంన్నె పచ్చడమున్ను పార్వతి
దేవికి రుద్రాక్షవ

29. ంన్నెచీరలున్ను బ్రంహ్మకు పొప్పళి పచ్చడమున్ను సరస్వతికి
సంన్నవలిపెమున్ను దేవేంద్రునకు గవాక్షివాంన్నె పచ్చడ
మున్ను శచిదేవికికపూర్ణ

30. రపలుకుల చీరలున్ను పురుషులకు కాషాయవస్త్రంబ్బులున్ను
భైరవునకు బద్దెలపుట్టమున్ను సకలదేవతలకు నానావగల
సచిత్రవంన్నెల వస్త్ర

31. ంబులుంన్ను నిర్మించ్చి సమర్పించ్చిన బ్రంహ్మ విష్ణుమహేశ్వరులు మెచ్చి సూర్యకంన్యకా వివాహసమయమంద్దు మెచ్చియిచ్చిన కనకపుజంద్ధ్యము

32. ముత్యాలభాషికెము కనకదండ్డె అంద్దలము కానదియ్యాలు హేమ కలశంబు ధవళశెంఖులు పులివాహనంబు పంచ్చవంన్నెడాలు డమా

33. మిడమలహరి పంచమహావాద్యంబులు ముత్యాలగొడుగులు కంచ్చుకాళింగ్గులు చంద్రహాసంబులు అక్షయతూళీరాదులు యి

34. చ్చిన గ్రై కొంన్న ఛత్రిశాయుధ సంపంన్నులున్ను ప్రధమ సాతె కుల పట్టభద్రులుంన్ను కాంచ్చిక్షేత్ర వీరపుంగ్గవులుంన్ను పాం చ్చాల భర్భర మచ్చ

35. మద్ర మగధ మలియాళ కళింగ్గ కుకురు కొంక్కణ కెంక్కణ త్రికర్ణ సాళ్వ సూరశేన సుధేష్ణ సుంహ్వా కురు కరూశ కోసల యు

36. గంద్ధర ఆంధ్ర సింద్ధు చేది చోళ పుళింద్ద పుండ్ర పౌండ్ర పాండ్య పాండ్ధుర సౌష్ట్రర సౌవ్వీర విదేహా విదర్భ ద్రవిళ దాశార్ణ

37. కర్నాట గౌళ అంగ్గ వంగ్గ మరాట లాట భోట భాంహ్లిక బహుధార కిరాత కేకయ అంశంత కాస్మీర కాంభోజ గాం

38. ధార కేరళ ఘూర్జర కుంత్తల అవంతిక మొదలయ్ను ఛప్పంన్న దేశాధీశ్వరులయ్ను వారలుంన్ను కంన్నుచింతామణి చేతులపరిశ

39. వేది గలవారలుంన్ను హరికి అత్తవారలుంన్ను లక్ష్మికి పుట్టింట్టి వారలుంన్ను మాతృవంశంబున మార్త్తాండకులజులుం

40. పితురవంశంబున బ్రంహ్మకు మనమలుంన్ను ఆశ్రితజన కల్పవృక్షా స్థాయులుంన్ను అనవరత దానధర్మశీలులుంన్ను శ్రీ వైష్ణవ కైంక్క

41. ర్యపరలుంన్ను నిత్య దేవబ్రాహ్మణ పూజతులుంన్ను గోదాన భూదాన సువర్ణదాన కంన్యదాన వస్త్రదాన అన్నదాన కాలపు

SECOND PLATE FIRST SIDE

42. రుషదాన తులాదాన అశ్వదాన గజదాన సాలగ్రామదాన రజిత దాన విద్యాదాన ఫలిదాన తాంబూ

43 లదానాది మొదలయ్ను షోడశదానంబ్బులుజేయు మహాత్మ్ములుంన్ను వుపనయన సంధ్యగాయత్ర మంత్ర ప్రవీ

44. ణులుంన్ను వేశ్యానాస్తి శేవకానాస్తి వుత్తమ జన్మావతారులుంన్ను అయోనికుల సంభవులుంన్ను దేవదానవ మాన

45. రక్షకులుంన్ను పులిమీసంబుల వుయ్యాల లూగువారలుంన్ను జీని జీనాంబర వస్త్రనిర్మిత సమర్ధులుంన్ను సర్వజన

46. మానరక్షకులుంన్ను సత్యహరిశ్చంద్రులుంన్ను భోగదేవేంద్రులుంన్న శౌరగాంగేయులుంన్ను సర్వగుణ సంపం (న్నులుం)

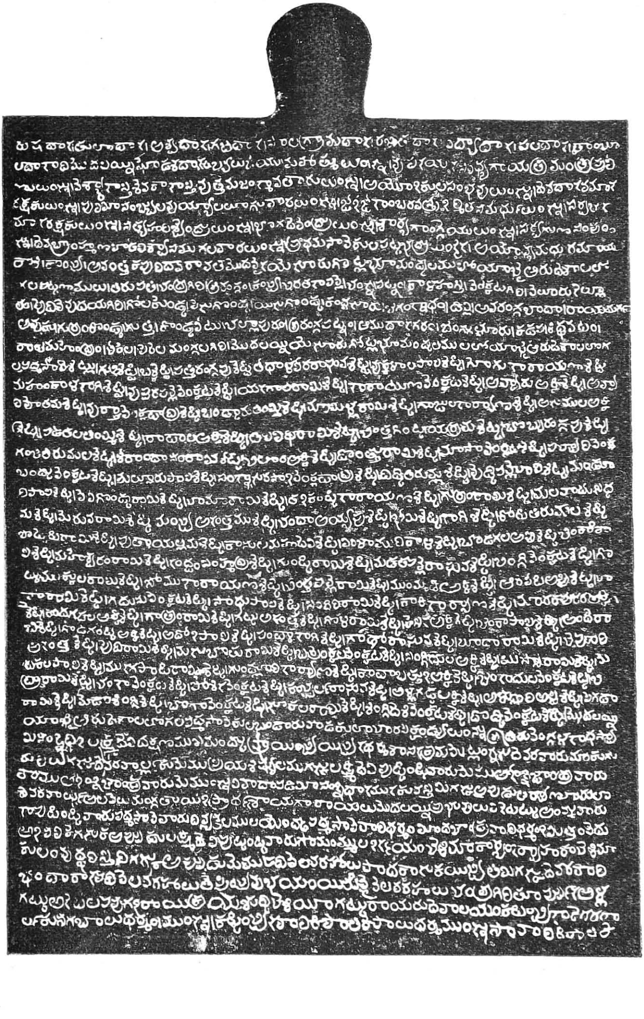
47. న్ను దేవబ్రాంహ్మణ హితవిశ్వాసముగలవారలుంన్ను ప్రథమ సాలెకుల పట్టభద్రులుంనైన అయోధ్య మధుర మాయ

48. కాశి, కాంచ్చి అవంతికపురి ద్వారావతి మొదలైన యేనూరు గొట్ల భూమండ్డలములో యాభై ఆరుదేశాలలో

49. గల పట్టణములు తిరుపతి చంద్రగిరి శ్రీరంగం కంచ్చి చిరుతనా పల్లె చంన్నపట్నం కాళహస్తి వెంకటగిరి వేలూరు నెల్లూ

50. రు పొదిలె వుదయగిరి గోలకొండ్డ పెనుగొండ్డ యినుగొండ్డ కంద్ద నూరు జగంన్నాథం డిల్లి అవరంగాబాదా రాయదుర్గం

51. అవ్రకు గుర్రంకొండ గుత్తి కొండ్డవీటు భల్లాపురం శ్రీరంగపట్నం ఆముదానగరం. బెంగ్గుళూరు కడప శిద్ధవటం



52. రాజమహేంద్రం చీరెల సెకెలమంగ్గలగిరి మొదలయ్ని యెనూరు
గోట్ల భూమండ్డలములలో యాంభై ఆరు దేశాలలోగ
53. ల పద్మసాలెశెట్లు గునిశెట్టి బశ్శెట్టి పత్తిరంగ్గపుశెట్టి తీధాళ వీర
రాఘవశెట్టి వుక్కళాల పాపిశెట్టి గోగునారాయణశెట్టి
54. మహంకాళ నాగిశెట్టి వుప్పరపల్లె వెంకటశెట్టి యనగాల రామిశెట్టి
నారాయణ వెంకటశెట్టి అవ్వారు అక్కిశెట్టి అవ్వా
55. రి పోతమశెట్టి వుర్తా వెంకటాద్రిశెట్టి బండ్డారు తింమ్మిశెట్టి
మామిళ్ళ రామిశెట్టి గాజుల నార్యాణశెట్టి అనుముల అక్కి
56. శెట్టి పడతల తింమ్మిశెట్టి రాటాల అక్కిశెట్టి తిరివీధి రామిశెట్టి
చింతగింట్ల యర్రమశెట్టి బొబ్బరంగపుశెట్టి
57. గంజి తిరుమలశెట్టి శీరాందాసం రామిశెట్టి చీలాం అక్కిశెట్టి
దొంతు రామిశెట్టి మాసా వెంకటశెట్టి పచ్చారి లెంక
58. బింద్దు వెంక్కటశెట్టి తుల్లూరు పాపిశెట్టి సంన్యానురసాని వెంక
టాద్రిశెట్టి దిడ్డి తిరుమ్లశెట్టి వొడ్డిపల్లె పాపిశెట్టి మండూ
59. రి పాపిశెట్టి వెలిగొంద్దు రామిశెట్టి చామా రామిశెట్టి తనికంట్టి
నారాయణశెట్టి గుఱ్రం రామిశెట్టి మలవాదు సిద్ధ
60. మశెట్టి మేరువ రామిశెట్టి నుంచ్చి అనంతముశెట్టి చందా
అయ్యపుశెట్టి భీమిశెట్టి నాగిశెట్టి కోటితిరుమలశెట్టి
61. పొట్టెటి రామిశెట్టి పుత్తాయల్లమశెట్టి కాసుల మహాదేవిశెట్టి
వింజామురి కాళిశెట్టి బొడగల అప్పిశెట్టి జింకా పా
62. పిశెట్టి మహేశ్వరం రామిశెట్టి నంద్దం సింహాద్రిశెట్టి గుంట్టి రామి
శెట్టి మడతపల్లె రాఘవశెట్టి బింగ్గి వెంక్కటశెట్టి గొ
63. ట్టు ముక్కల రామిశెట్టి సోము నారాయణశెట్టి చింతపల్లె రామి
శెట్టి ముమ్మడి అక్కిశెట్టి ఆరెవీటి అప్పిశెట్టి చా

64. పా రామిశెట్టి గదుసు వెంక్కటశెట్టి సాధు పాపిశెట్టి సింగ్గిరి రామి
శెట్టి కాకి నార్యాణశెట్టి మారకపురం అక్కి

65. శెట్టి కందగడల అక్కిశెట్టి గాత్రం రామిశెట్టి గట్టు అనంత్తశెట్టి
గోళ్ళి రామిశెట్టి కేసిన అక్కిశెట్టి జింకా పాపిశెట్టి

66. అందె రామిశెట్టి గోడిగంట్టి అక్కిశెట్టి అదోని పాపిశెట్టి పంట్టా
నాగిశెట్టి గౌడా రాఘవశెట్టి బూదా రామిశెట్టి చేపూరి

67. అనంత్తశెట్టి పొది రామిశెట్టి మనుబోతు రామిశెట్టి బ్రెంక్కల
వెంక్కటశెట్టి సింగ్గినమల అక్కిశెట్టి ఖుస్సా రామిశెట్టి మె

68. టికల పాలిశెట్టి మునగపాటి రామిశెట్టి గుండ్లూరి నార్యాణశెట్టి
కాటాబత్తుని అక్కిశెట్టి జంనాదుల వెంక్కటశెట్టి బ

69. ట్రా రామిశెట్టి చంనా వెంక్కటశెట్టి పోశిన వెంక్కటశెట్టి
కంచ్చెర్ల రాఘవశెట్టి అళ్ళగడ్డ లక్కిశెట్టి అఘ్యారి అప్పిశెట్టి పెగడా

70. రామిశెట్టి మెడా శింగ్గిశెట్టి బాగా వెంక్కటశెట్టి నూకల రామి
శెట్టి శింగ్గిదేశి వెంక్కటశెట్టి దొడ్డి వెంక్కటశెట్టి మొదలయ్ను

71. యాభై ఆరు దేశాలలోగల పద్మసాలెకుల బండారు వాడకులా
చార పెక్కండ్రులుంన్ను శ్రీ తిరువెంగ్గళనాథస్వా

72. మి సంన్నిధిని లక్ష్మిదేవి దక్షణముఖమంద్దు వ్రాయించ్చియిచ్చిన
ధర్మశాసన క్రమమెట్లంన్నను దేవరవారు మాకు గు

73. రువులు గన్క దేవరవాల్లకు మేము ప్రియశిష్యులముగన్క
లక్ష్మిదేవి పుట్టింట్టివారు మేము అనింన్ని జాంద్రవారు

74. తాము అనింన్ని జాంద్రవారు మేముంన్ను వివాదపడి మీసంన్ని
ధానమునకు వస్తిమిగన్క అప్పుడు తిర్చాణూర్లో

75. దేవరవాల్ల అలమేలు మంగ్గతాయిని ప్రార్థనశాయగా
రాయలు మొదలయ్ను ప్రభువులు వినేట్టట్టు అంమ్మవారు

76. నా పుటింట్టివారు పద్మసాలెవారు దివ్యస్తలముల యెందు పద్మ
సాలెవారి ధర్మంమీాద జాంద్రవారి ధర్మం నిమిత్తంలేదు

77. అని పలికె గనుక అప్పుడు లక్ష్మిదేవి పుట్టింట్టివారు గ్రామంమ్ము
లనిర్ణ యించేశి మా కార్యంసిర్వాహకంచేశి మా

78. కులం వుద్ధరిస్తిరి గన్కు అప్పుడు మేము పదివేలువరహాలు పాద
కానుక ఇచ్చితిమి గన్కు దేవరవారి

79. భండారాన పదివేలవరహాలు తెప్పించి వుభయం యిరువైవేల
వరహాలు చంద్రగిరి తూర్పున ఆళ్ళ

80. గట్టు అనె బలపపుగని రాయిక్రయశుద్ధిచేసి యీగట్టు రాయరు
దేవాలయం కటించ్చి నా దేవరవా

81. ర్లకు సగబాలురర్మం ముంన్నుకట్టించ్చినవారికి పాతికెపాలు ధర్మ
ముంనుసావారికి పాతికె

SECOND PLATE SECOND SIDE

82. సాలెవారికి పాతికెపాలు ధర్మముంన్ను నిర్ణయంచేస్తిరి గన్కు
అప్పుడు దానపత్రం వ్రాయించ్చి యి

83. చ్చిన క్రమమెట్లంన్నను దేవరవార్లకు తిరుమాళిఘ కైంకర్య
ధర్మ వెచ్చానకు సంవ్వత్సరం ౧ కి మొగ్గం ౧

84. కి అపరంజిరూక లెఖ్ఖనుంన్ను పెండ్లి ౧ కి రూక లెఖ్ఖనుంన్ను సమ
ర్పించి నడిపిస్తూ రాగలవా

85. ర్లము దేవరవార్లకు తిరువెంగ్గ(ళ)నాధసామి మర్యాద మీరు
మాకు గురువులుగన్కు శిష్యపారం పర్యంత్త

86. రంగ్గాను పుత్రపారం పర్యంతరంగ్గాను ఆచంద్రార్క స్థాయిగాను
నడపగలవారము యిందుకు మా జా

87. తంవారు యువరు తప్పిన గంగ్గాతీరమంద్దు గ్రోబాంహ్మల వధించిన పాపాన బొందుదురు త్మతల్లి దండ్రాజు

88. లవధియించ్చిన పాపాన బొంద్దుదురు భావనారుషి భద్రావతి కంన్నెకకు తప్పినవారలు దేవరకు

89. దేశానకు వెలివేయను దేవరవాలుఁ కర్తఁలు అని వొప్పించ్చి సమర్పించ్చిన ధర్మశాసనము॥ దాన

90. పాలనయోామర్మ్రఁ ధ్యైదాన త్రెయోనుపాలనం। దానాత్స్యగఁ వాప్నోతిపాలనాదచ్యు

91. తంపదం। స్వదత్తాద్విగుణం పుణ్యం। పరదత్తానుపాలనం। పరదత్తా పహారెణ స్వదత్తం నిష్ఫలంభవేత్॥

The inscription records the gift of ten-thousand *Varāhas* by the leaders of the *Padmaśālā* sect to Taḻḻapāka Tiruveṅgaḻanāthayya with an annual subsidy of one *aparañji rūka* (Gold coin) for each loom and one *rūka* on the marriage occasion in their families. The ten-thousand *Varāhas* had to be supplemented by another ten-thousand by Tiruveṅgaḻanātha's treasury and by taking contract of the quarry in the hill known as Āllagaṭṭu, a temple had to be constructed for God Tiruveṅgaḻanātha. The gift of *aparañji rūka* levied annually on each loom of their caste and of *rūka*—the marriage-gift were intended for the expense of the doneé's charities and house hold expenses. The incription is dated S. S. 1463 Śubhakṛt Kārtika śukla15.

The occasion for the grant is thus detailed in the inscription. A contest took place between *Padmaśālā* and *Jaṇḍra* castes whether which of the two castes were descendants of the family in which the Goddess Lakṣmī was born. Tiruveṅgaḻanātha, the doneé took the leaders of the two castes to Tirucānūr and before the whole congregation induced Goddess Padmāvatī herself to declare that *Padmaśālas* descended from

the family of her parents and the charities of the *Janḍra* people could not have greater claim over those of the Padmaśālā caste. This service of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, the doneé, had to be rewarded by the gifts mentioned above. It may be said that Goddess Padmāvatī worshipped in the temple at Tirucānūr was one of the forms of Lakṣmī herself and hence the inducement by the doneé was made to Lakṣmī herself. The *Padmaśālā* weavers having been admitted as possessors of superior rights and duties in the charities to be made for God Viṣṇu and His consort Lakṣmī were pleased to make the grants.

The doneé was the son of Tirumalācārya and grandson of Annamācārya who belonged to the Taḷḷapāka family who were the authors of a number of poems in Telugu and *Kīrtanas* in *Śṛṅgāra* and *Vedānta* extolling God Veṅkaṭeśa of Tirumala hill (Tirupati). In the *Aṣṭamahiṣīkalyāṇa* of the poet Tiruveṅgaḷanātha called by Appakavi as Chinnaṇṇa, the pedigree of the author is thus described:—

Annamācārya, m Akkamma and Timmāmbā

- Tirumala m. Tirumalammā
  - Cinna-timma
  - Annaya
  - Tiruveṅgaḷa (elder)
  - Tiruveṅgaḷa (younger)
  - Koneṭi Veṅkaṭanātha
- Narasammā (daughter)
- Tirumalammā (daughter)

Tiruveṅgaḷa the fourth son of Tirumala composed the *Aṣṭamahiṣīkalyāṇa.* The doneé who was the son of Tirumalācārya and grandson of Annamācārya has to be identified with the author of the *Aṣṭāmahiṣīkalyāṇa,* i.e., the fourth son of Tirumala as shown above. This identity is proved by the epithets used in the inscription for the doneé—

Makarakuṇḍala-yugma-maṇḍitakarṇa
Sakala-vaiṣṇavapāda-saṁsevakābja–
Sadanā-vadhūlabdha-sarasa-kavitva–
Viditamānasa-Tiruveṅgaḷanātha.

Though the whole inscription is in prose, the above piece is in *dvipāda* metre and exactly found in the author's colophon of the *Aṣṭamahiṣīkalyāṇa.* Appakavi and other writers on Telugu prosody have called the *Aṣṭamahiṣīkalyāṇa* as the work of Cinnaṇṇa (the younger). The third son was probably known as Peda Tiruveṅgaḷa. Similarly Tirumala was known as Peda Tirumala while his eldest son as Cinna Tirumala. Appakavi calls the father Tirumala as Peda Tirumaladeśika who composed a Telugu work called *Repha-rakāra* (now available and printed).

Annamācārya by his another wife Timmāmbā had a son known as Narasiṁha. The following Telugu verse, oft-quoted, extols the poetical merit of the three poets Cinnaṇṇa, Peda Tirumala and Narasiṅgaṇṇa as celebrated for *dvipāda* metre, song and for *gadya* and poetry respectively. Vīreśaliṅgam identifies Narasiṅga with Narasiṁha the author of *Kavikarṇa-rasāyana.* But the three poets are referred to as the members of the same Taḷḷapāka family. Peda Tirumala's *Padamulu* (songs) are already published in the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams Series. The author of *Kavikarṇa-rasāyana* appears, according to our latest research, to belong to 1460 A.D. while Annama and his sons Narasiṅga and Peda Tirumala were the contemporaries of Kṛṣṇarāya (1509 to 1530). Sadāśiva of Vijayanagar granted the village Mallavaram in Addankisīma to Chinnaṇṇa Tiruveṅgaḷanātha in S.S. 1467 Viśvāvasu Āṣāḍha śukla 12 Sunday (Butterworth's Nellore Inscriptions No. 21 Ongole Taluk.) The doneé's youngest brother Koneṭi was also a recipient of two villages (Volaparti and Ballāpalli) from the same king in S.S. 1466 and 1467 respectively.

There are two inscriptions noted in Mackenzie collection of records in Vols. 15–3–34 page 92 and 15–3–5 page 180. The record in the former volume relates that in S. S. 1479 Piṅgala Puṣya śukla 8 Tuesday, King Sadāśiva of Vijayanagar granted Tanduvam village in Ālūrusīma to Tāḷḷapāka Annamācārya, son of Tirumala and grandson of Annamācārya. The doneé

can be identified as the second son of Peda Tirumala. The record in the Vol. 15–3–5 page 180 states that Sadāśiva gave a village to Koneṭi Tiruveṅgaḷa in S. S. 1481 Siddhārthi Āṣāḍha bahula 12. Herein Tiruveṅgaḷa is stated as son of Annayya probably an error as son for 'grandson'. 1481 S. S. is 1559 A.D. and S. S. 1479 is 1557 A.D.

For three or four generations Annama and his descendants were famous for their literary talents. Their literary compositions are shown below :—

Annama—*Saṅkīrtanas* (lyrics) of *Vedānta* and of *Śṛṅgāra* import in praise of God Veṅkaṭeśvara. *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* and *Śṛṅgāralakṣaṇa.*

Peda Tirumala, son of Annamācārya--*Śṛṅgāra* lyrics, prosaic lyric in *Vedānta, Śṛṅgāra-daṇḍaka, Cakravālamañjarī, Śṛṅgāra-śataka* (100 verses) in various metres, *Udāharaṇa-nītiśataka* in *sīsamālikā* metre, *Sudarśana - ragaḍa, Repha-rakāranirṇaya, Bhagavadgītā.*

Cinnatimma, eldest son of Peda Tirumala, wrote *Vedānta* and *Śṛṅgāra* lyrics, *Aṣṭabhāṣādaṇḍaka,* and Rules for the composition of *Saṅkīrtana* (lyric).

Cinnaṇṇa, the fourth son of Peda Tirumala composed-*Paramayogivilāsa, Aṣṭamahīṣīkalyāṇa and Uṣāpariṇaya.*

Tiruveṅgaḷa, son of Cinna-timma commented on *Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana,* and *Kāvyaprakāśa.*

Annama's daughter had a son called Revunūri Veṅkaṭa who composed *Śakuntalāpariṇaya* and *Śripādareṇumāhātmya* The latter was quite recently discovered. Besides the above works of this family there may be others which have not come to light. This assertion gains ground by the discovery of *Annamācāryacaritra* written by Chinnaṇṇa Tiruveṅgaḷa, the doneė of this grant. The work discovered only a week ago reveals the history of Annaṇṇa who as a boy was a contemporary of Śāluva Narasiṁha as stated in the work.

Narasiṁha must have been a great poet whose works have not come down to us.

The dates of the various members of this family can be determined without much speculation. Annama is said to have been ill-treated by Śāluva Narasiṁha. The date of the inscription under notice is 1463 S. S. (1541. A. D.). Among the Nellore Inscriptions two (15 and 21 Ongole) are dated 1467 S.S. (1545 A.D.) which refer to Chinnaṇṇa and Koneṭi, the fourth and fifth sons of Peda Tirumala. The statement engraved on Annamācārya's *Vedānta* lyrics (*Ādhyātma-saṅkīrtanas*) reveals that he was born in Krodhi 1346 S.S. (1424 A.D.) and died in S.S. 1424 Dundubhi Phalguṇa bahula 12 (1502 A.D.). Thus the influence of Tal̤l̤apāka scholars extended over the devotional side of God Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara over a century from 1460 to 1560 A.D. The highest point in their glory seems to have reached in the reign of Sadāśiva whose deputy Rāmarāya and his brothers were great patrons of Vaiṣṇavism and of its spread in the Ceded Districts and in the north.

Tal̤l̤apāka people belong to Bharadvājagotra and are Ṛgvedins. Annamacaritra shows that he received his *cakrāṅkana* from a Śrīvaiṣṇava (of south) and he was probably a Śaivite Niyogi Brahmin of Nandavarika sect.

Descendants of Tal̤l̤apāka family, as noted above, are still living in the villages of Maḍitāḍu, Muḍumpāḍu, Mācanūru, Rājupāl̤em, Errāvāripāl̤em and Ūtukūru. The family that lived in the last mentioned village migrated to Tirupati and their descendants are still alive. The pedigree of Cinnaṇṇa is traced thus by a living person of the family.

- Cinnaṇṇa
  - Veṅkaṭeśayya
    - Somayya
      - Bucaṇṇa
        - Perumāḷayya
          - Rāmayya
            - Perumāḷayya
              - Veṅkaṭaramaṇayya
                - Sūryanārāyaṇa
            - Appaḷācārya
  - Appayya

Taking 1570 A.D. as the latest date of Chinaṇṇa three-hundred and seventy years till this day is covered up by eight generations and there are rare instances such as the periods of the Kākatīya kings where the average for each generation exceeds forty years. The genuineness of the inscription is based (1) on paleography and (2) on a record quite similar to or same as this found in Mackenzie collection now available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

The same matter with the same donors and doneé is noted in an inscription recorded in Mackenzie Collection Vol. No. 15-4-18 page 57 and in its copy—*Local Records* Vol. 48 page 443 now deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It is stated at the beginning of the inscription that the forthcoming copy was based on a copy of an inscription incised on two plates which were taken to Guṟṟainkoṇḍa, and that the copy was found with the descendant of Cinnaṇṇa the doneé of this inscription who was called Taḻḻapāka Veṅkaṭā-cārya then residing at Īṭimarpuram in Cuddapah District. Both this inscription and the copy noted therein fully coincide except in the following points:—1. That the Goddess Padmāvatī spoke in the presence of Puruṣottamarāya and a Tātācārya;

(2) that the date of that inscription is S. S. 1493 Śubhakṛt Māgha śukla 15 Thursday while this is dated S. S. 1493 Śubhakṛt Kārtikā śukla 15. (3) That the congregation took place in the Raṅgamaṇṭapa of Śrī Padmāvatī temple wherein the grant was also made, while this inscription states merely that in Tirucānūr the meeting took place meaning thereby in the temple of the Goddess who had to speak in their presence. In all other respects both the inscriptions record the same gift and the occasion which caused it. The difference in dates of the two inscriptions was due to some cause which cannot be accounted for except by conjecture. Those records were written between 1800 and 1820 A.D. The occasion for the gift is stated therein was also the contest between two castes *Padmaśālās* and *Jaṇḍras*. The decision of the question was the same *mirāś* as recorded here. The *Padmaśālās* belong to weaver caste and the people of their caste or sect are said to extend all over India. They seem to maintain union in their caste to decide questions of common interest which affect their social welfare and political security. Similar groups, an examination of a number of inscriptions reveals, existed among other castes, such as Vaiśyas, Śaivites of varions tenets etc. Generally these groups are designated as *Ayyāvali pekkandru* (committees of *āryas* or elders). Whether they are *Padmaśālās* in this inscription or Vaiśyas or Śaivites as elsewhere, the Ayyāvali groups are stated to be great heroes, accessaries to the acquisition and maintenance of kingdoms to varions kings, generous benefactors of great worthy deeds and residents of all the best cities in India. These common attributes are recorded herein also as in the case of Vaiśyas in kindred inscriptions. A few instances of their heroism and administrative ability of the leaders of the sect are also named in their title-epithets. In addition to their valour and capacity, dexterity in individual arts in which each caste has separately trained itself and possessed exclusive and unique proficiency. In the case of the *Padmaśālās*, their weaving skill was extolled in this inscrip-

tion as extending to the spinning and weaving of the threads of the divine lotus which adorns the navel of God Viṣṇu, out of which they supplied the divine clothes to various Gods in Hindu pantheology. Poetic as the description may seem, that their dexterity in their own art is or was unrivalled and subject to human or even divine admiration is true. No nation is free from such miraculons conceptions. Superstition even in its worst conception is present in our own enlightened age when certain nations have grown even super-human in their knowledge and power.

The *Padmaśālās* trace their ancestry according to the inscription from Bhāvanamaharṣi who sprang in the *homa-kuṇḍa* (oblation fire) of Sage Mārkaṇḍeya. Pañca-ṛṣi was also a brother of Bhāvana, who seems to have married the daughter of Sun (probably virgin Bhadrāvatī mentioned in line 88 of this inscription). Certain members of the caste achieved some heroic acts which procured titles for the whole caste. They are 'the killers of kālvaśenā,' reinstators of Deśiṅg on his throne who obtained single-pillared palace surrounded by twelve forts, who obtained titles from Puru-ṣottamarāya (probably the king of Cuttack), who defeated Jaṇḍra heroes near Yanamadala, who ruled at Koṇḍa-vīḍu, who succeeded in a contest before Anavemareḍḍi by holding the red-hot iron ball, who got at the time of the marriage of Sun's daughter, a gold *yajñopavīta*, pearl *bhāṣika* (worn by the bride and bridegroom at the time of the marriage), gold lute, palanquin, *kāna* torches (?), gold *kalaśa* (pot of water), white conch shell, tiger-vehicle (vāhana), five-coloured shield, five kinds of hands, pearl-umbrella, vessels for spitting etc., *candrahāsa* (sword) etc. These weavers are said to reside in every town, particularly in Tirupati, Candragiri, Śrīraṅgam, Conjeevaram, Trichinopoly, Chennapaṭṇa (Madras), Kālahasti, Veṅkaṭagiri, Vellore, Nellore, Podili, Udayagiri, Golkoṇḍa, Penugoṇḍa, Inugoṇḍa (in Guntur District ?), Kāṇḍanūru, Jagannātha, Delhi, Auran-gabad, Rāyadurg, Avaku (in Kurnool District) Gurramkoṇḍa,

Gooty, Koṇḍavīḍu, Bhallapura (in Bellary ?), Srirangapatam, Ahmednagar, Bangalore, Cuddapah, Siddhavaṭam, Rajamundry, Chirala, Perala, Maṅgalagiri etc. The names of the elders of the caste probably living in these towns are given.

The gift of the large sum was intended for the construction of a temple for God Tiruveṅgaḷanātha and the Goddess near Āllagaṭṭu with the marble stone from the quarry of Āllagaṭṭu. The shrine thus built in all probabilities can be indentified with the temple at Maṅgāpuram which lies east of Candragiri on the way to Tirumalai hill. There is an inscription at Maṅgāpuram (No. 429 Vol IV. Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthānam Inscriptions) which states that the temple was constructed by Tiruveṅgalanātha, Cinnanna the poet.

గ్రంథ గ్రంథులు

వేటూరి ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రి

ఆంధ్ర గ్రంథములందు ముడులు విడని గ్రంథ గ్రంథులుగాఁ గొన్ని పద్యములు, పదములు గానవచ్చుచున్నవి. అట్టివానిలోఁ గొన్నింటి కిక్కడ నాచేతనయినంతలోఁ జిక్కులు విడఁదీయఁ బ్రయత్నము చేయుచున్నాఁడను.

1. చందమామ ఘుటిక

" గీ. పాత్రసంశుద్ధి కాజ్యం బుపస్తరించి
యూరకుండిరి యిది యేమియొక్కొ వీరు ?
కానరా విష్ఢు శాకపాకములు నెదుర
మనకు నిజమయ్యె నలచందమామఘుటిక. "

—భీమఖండము.

కాశిలో వారముదినములనుండి తిండిలేక త్రిప్పులఁబడుచున్న వ్యాసాదిమహర్షులకొకపెద్ద ముత్తైదువ యన్నప్రదానము చేయుదుననఁగా ననుష్ఠానములు దీర్చుకొని కూర్చుండిరి. విస్తళ్లు వేసిరి; పాత్రాభిఘారము చేసిరి. అంతే. వడ్డనగాని, యింట వంటవాసనగాని కానరాదయ్యెను. అప్పుడు వ్యాసాదు లనుకొన్నట్టున్నచొప్పు పయిపద్యము. ఇందు

" మనకు నిజమయ్యె నలచందమామఘుటిక " అన్నపాదమున కర్థము కావలెను.

> " తూష్ణీం స్థితాః కి మేతన్ను నాన్నాదిక మవేక్ష్యతే ;
> సత్యాఽభూ దధునాఽస్మాకం శశాంకఘుటికాకథా. "

అని పయి తెలుఁగుపద్యమునకు సంస్కృతశ్లోకము. నా కిట్లు తోఁచినది: ఉడుగక మారాముపట్టి యేడ్చుచున్న పసిబాలురను పెద్దవా రెత్తుకొని వెన్నెలలోని కరిగి కనువిందుగొలుపు చందమామను జూపుచు " చందమామరావే జాబిల్లిరావే ... వెండిగిన్నెలో వెన్నపెట్టుకుని, పమిడిగిన్నెలో పాలుపోసుకుని, ఒలిచినపండు చేతఁబట్టుకుని, ఒలవనిపండు ఒడిలోఁ ఉంచుకుని రావే చందమామా, అబ్బాయియా నీవ్రా ఆరగింతురు కానీ " అని పాటపాడుచు చందమామ తన కేదో తినుబండారములు తెచ్చిపెట్టునని బాలకు లూఱడిల్లి యుండునట్లు మోసగింతురు. ఇదీ శశాంకఘుటికా కథ. సంస్కృత భీమఖండమునను, తెల్గు భీమఖండము నను 'శశాంకఘుటిక-చందమామఘుటిక' ఉన్నదిగాని, ఈనానుడి విష్ణు పురాణమున మఱొకమాడ్కిగా నున్నది.

> " అందనిపంటి కేమిటికి నఱ్ఱు నిగిడ్చెదు విష్ణుఁ డన్నయా
> కందువ, చందమామగుటకల్, విను మీపనికట్టిపెట్టు "
>
> —2 ఆశ్వా.

ఇక్కడకూడ " ఘుటికల్ " అని మార్పవచ్చును గాని అచ్చులో " గుటకల్ " అనియే కలదు. ఈపాఠమునకు చందమామ యేమో తెచ్చిపెట్టఁగలఁడని నోరూరఁగా బాలకులు గుటకలు మ్రింగుచుఁ జూచు చుండు టర్థమగును. భీమఖండపు ఘుటికకంటె నీ 'గుటక' సారస్యము గలది. కాని సంస్కృతపు ఘుటికకు 'గుటక' తెలిఁగింపుగాదుగదా !

ఈ "చందమామగుటక" మాదిరిగా "చందమామగ్రుక్కిళ్లు" అని ప్రయోగాంతరము గలదు.

"గీ. ఎలమి సుముహూర్తమునఁ దెరయెత్తనంతఁ
ప్రేమ మది మీఱఁగాఁ జందమామచెలుల
కెంపుమోవులసుధను గ్రుక్కిళ్లుమ్రింగ
క్షితిఁ గలిగెఁ జందమామగ్రుక్కిళ్లు నాఁడు"

—తారాశశాంకము.

శబ్దరత్నాకరకారు లీపద్యము నుదాహరించి "చందమామ గ్రుక్కిళ్లు" అనుపదమునకు 'అధరామృతము' అని యర్థము వ్రాసిరి. కాని, వారే అక్కడ 'ఇట్లు, చందమామగుటకలు, ఈయర్థ మింకను విచార్యము' అని వ్రాసిరి. అధరామృత మన్నయర్థము సంగతము గాదు.

2. కేనము

"కేనము—అసూయ మొదలగునర్థములందు నన్నిచోడఁ డుప యోగించెను. 'కేణ' క్రొత్తకన్నడముననే కలదుగాని ప్రాచీనకావ్య ములలోఁ గానరాదు. కావునఁ దత్ప్రయోగము గావించినకవి ద్వాదశ శతాబ్దికంటెఁ బ్రాచీనతరుఁడు గాఁజాలఁడు." అని శ్రీ లక్ష్మీపతిశాస్త్రి గారు.

నన్నయభట్టారకునకు నూఱేండ్ల పూర్వపువాఁడును, కర్ణాట ప్రాచీన మహాకవియు నగుపంపకవి తనవిక్రమార్జునవిజయమున 'కేణ' పదమును పదవ యాశ్వాసము 77–వ పద్యమునను, మఱియు 81–వ పద్యమునను రెండుచోట్ల నన్నిచోడఁ డేయర్థమునఁ బ్రయోగించెనో ఆయర్థముననే

ప్రయోగించెను. కాన యిది యాంధ్రకర్ణాటకవితల యాదికాలమున నుండియు రెండుభాషలలోను వ్యవహృతమగుచున్న పదమేయని తెలియ నగును.

3. కనుమారి

భారత శాంతిపర్వము (ఆశ్వా. 1 ప. 307) న

" కల్లు ద్రావిన పాతకం బది యగ్ని వ
    ర్ణముగాఁగఁ గాఁచి పానంబు సేయఁ
గనుమారి యుఱుకంగ ననలంబుఁజొర మహా
    ప్రస్థాన మాచరింపంగఁ బాయు "

అనికలదు. ఇందు 'కనుమూసి యుఱుకంగ' అని పాఠాంతర మున్నది. అది పరిగ్రాహ్యము గాదు. ఇక్కడ, 'పానంబు సేయఁగను— మారి యుఱుకంగ' అని పదచ్ఛేదమా, 'పానంబుసేయఁ—గనుమారి యుఱుకంగ' అని పదచ్ఛేదమా అని సంశయము. ఈ సంశయము నీక్రింది నాచనసోముని పద్యము తీర్చినది.

గీ. పాయఁదగు మిమ్ముఁ గనుమారిఁబడఁ బొసంగు
    విషము ద్రావుట యోగ్యంబు వెల్లిలోన
    మునుఁగు టుచితము మీరెల్లఁ గనుఁగొనంగ
    నాత్మవిడుచుట చను నాకు ననుచు నడలి.

—ఉత్తరహరి. ఆ. 4.

పదము 'కనుమారిఁబడుట' యగుట స్పష్టము. 'కనుమారిఁ బడుట'కు 'భృగు పతన' మర్థము. శాంతిపర్వ పద్యమునకు మూల మిది.

" సురాపానం సకృత్ కృత్వా యోఽగ్నివర్ణాం సురాం పిబేత్ ;

* * * * * *

మరుత్ప్రపాతం ప్రపతన్ జ్వలనంహి సమావిశన్;
మహాప్రస్థాన మాతిష్ఠన్ ముచ్యతే సర్వకిల్బిషైః.

—శాంతి. అ. 34.

" మరుత్ ప్రపాతమ్ = నిర్జలదేశే పర్వతాగ్రాత్ పతనమ్"
అని వ్యాఖ్య.

4. టాటాలు గుణించుట

" కర్ణాటస్త్రీలు కటారికత్తియలచే
రాపాడఁగాఁ బట్టఁగాఁ
డాటా లీడ గుణింపరాదు పెఱచో
టంబోలెఁ బైపాటునన్. "

—క్రీడాభిరామము.

తెలుఁగునాట, తెలివితక్కువవానికి 'తద్దన్న' అనీ, మనసు మెత్తనివానికి 'పప్పమ్మ' అనీ, గడుసరివానికి 'టట్టణ్ణ' అనీ, బూకరింపునకు 'చచ్ఛ' అనీ నానుళ్లున్నవి. తవర్గము దంత్యము; చవర్గము తాలవ్యము; టవర్గము మూర్ధన్యము; పవర్గము ఓష్ఠ్యము. 'తద్దన్న' పట్టి మాటకారియేకాని కార్యకారి కాఁడు. పల్లుబిగింపేకాని కార్యపు సొంపు లేనివాఁడు (దంత్యముగాన). 'పప్పమ్మ' నే 'పెట్టిపప్ప' పెట్టి పప్పమ్మ' అనియు నందురు. పట్టిమెత్తనివాఁడు గట్టిగా మాటాడను, మాటాడను నేరనివాఁడు (ఓష్ఠ్యముగాన). 'చచ్ఛ' బూకరింపు.

(తాలవ్యముగాన). "టట్టణ" ఉద్ధతుఁడు — బిఱ్ఱబిగిసి నెత్తికెక్కి మాటాడువాఁడు (మూర్ధన్యముగాన).

ఈ యర్థమునకు సాధకముగాఁ గర్ణాటభారతమున పంపకవి ప్రయోగ మున్నది.

"క. పన్నతర నడువ నుడియ
లెన్న భుజార్గళమె సాల్గు మెసెమే ణ్మునిమే
సొన్ననుడి 'టారడాథణ'
మెన్నం బెససువుదు రాజసూయంబేళల్."

భీముని భాషణము 'టారడాథణ' అనఁబడినది. ఉద్ధతము, కఠినము అని. క్రీడాభిరామ ప్రయోగమునఁగూడ 'టాటాలు గుణింప రాదు' అనఁగా గడుసరి దుడుసుఁదనములు సాగింపరాదని యర్థమగును.

5. అధ్వానము

హరవిలాసమున రతివిలాపములో

"న, న్నతిదుఃఖాన్వితఁ డించిపోవఁ దగునా
యధ్వానపుం బట్టునన్"

అని కలదు. 'అధ్వానము–అమార్గము' అని శబ్దరత్నాకర కారు లనిరి. 'అరణ్యము' అని కర్ణాట నిఘంటు కారులనిరి. ఈయర్థము లెట్లువచ్చినవో వారు లక్ష్యము లుదాహరింపలేదు. కర్ణాట పంప భారతమున 'అధ్వానపదపరిశ్రాంత' అని యున్నది. తన్ముద్రాపకులు 'అధ్వానము–మార్గము' అని యర్థము వ్రాసిరి. అది

సంస్కృతసమాసమున నున్నది. ‘ శ్వ-శ్వాన ’ శబ్దములవలె ‘ అధ్వ-అధ్వాన ’ శబ్దములు సంస్కృతముననే కలవేమో ! ‘ అధ్వ ’ శబ్దము తత్సమరూపమును ‘ అధ్వానము ’ కాఁబోలును ! ‘ అధ్వానము ’ తత్సమ మనుకొన్న శ్రీనాథప్రయోగమునకు సాధుత్వము, నర్థము నిర్బాధము లగునుగాని కర్ణాటప్రయోగము రక్షితముగాదు. తెనుఁగున ‘ అధ్వాన్నము శత్రుమధ్యము ’ అని నానుడి యున్నది. త్రోవలో వంటచేసి కొని తినుట, శత్రువు లప్పుడు చుట్టుముట్టియుండుట ’ దానికర్థము. కాని, సంస్కృతమున ‘ అధ్వాంతశాత్రవః=మార్గసీమారిపుః ’ అని ప్రయోగ మును, అర్థమును వాచస్పత్యాది నిఘంటువులలోఁ గాననగును.

తెలుఁగునఁగల ‘ తలపొలము ’ పదమున కీ ‘ యధ్వాంత ’ పదము సరియయిన సంస్కృతము.

“ సాదు రేఁగనేని
న్నివను తలపొలముననకాని నిలువదు సుమ్మీ ”

అన్న తిక్కన్న ప్రయోగమునకు ‘ సాధువయిన పసరము చెల రేఁగినదా, అది యెందాఁకఁ బోఁగలదో అందాఁకఁ బోయికాని నిలువదు’ అన్నయర్థము సంగతము. ఊరిబాట ముగియునట్టి పొలమేరపట్టు ‘అధ్వాంతము-తలపొలము.’ తిక్కన ప్రయోగమున కర్థమిదేయని నిరూ పించుట కీ క్రింది ప్రయోగము కాటమరాజు కథలోనిది సాధకము.

“ తలపొలమునకుఁ బొటి నిలఁబడ్డగోవులను
కలవిలుచుకొన్నట్టు కాదుకయ్యంబు.”

తిక్కనభారతము, కాటమరాజుకథ-రెండును నెల్లూరికావ్యములే. ‘ తలపొలము ’ పద మక్కడ వాడుకకలది కాఁబోలును !

6. కనకస్వామి

బసవపురాణమున

"జాలిఁ బడి కనకసాములు దమక
వేలిచికొన్నయావిధమగుఁ దమకు"

అని యున్నది. శివాలయములలో శివనివేదితాన్నాదికము నర్చకు లక్కడిబోయల కారగింపనిచ్చుట బసవేశ్వరుని పూర్వకాలపు సంప్రదాయము. బసవేశ్వరుఁ డాసంప్రదాయము మాన్పించి యర్చకులచే నారగింపించెను. బోయలు తగవు సాగించిరి. 'శివునికి విషము నివేదింతుము. అది మీ రారగింపఁగలరా?' యని బసవన బోయల నడిగెను. 'ప్రసాదమారగించి బ్రదుకఁగోరుదుముగాని ప్రసాదము విషముచేసినఁ దిని చత్తుముగదా?' అని బోయ లనెడుపట్టునఁ గలద్విపద యది. బసవపురాణము ముద్రించునాఁ డీద్విపదయర్థము నాకు స్పష్టపడలేదు. 'కనకస్వాములు' అనఁగా రసవాదము (బంగారము) చేయువారనీ, తత్ప్రక్రియ సరిగా తెలియక తప్పుప్రయోగములు చేసి వారు తమ శరీరములనే కాల్చుకొనుచుండుట జరగునుగాఁబోలు ననీ నే నప్పుడనుకొంటిని. ఇటీవల కర్ణాటవిద్వాంసులు శ్రీ శేషయ్యంగారు కర్ణాటభారతమున నేతత్సంబంధికథ యుండుటఁ జూపిరి. అది యిది: ఆరణ్యపర్వమున యక్షప్రశ్నలసందర్భమున భీమాదులు నలుగురు సోదరులు యక్షునాజ్ఞ మీఱి నీరుద్రావి చెఱువుచెంత మృతప్రాయులై పడియుండిరి. అప్పుడు దుర్యోధనుని పురోహితుఁడు కనకస్వామి యనువాఁడు పాండవులఁ జంప నాభిచారికహోమము చేసి పంపినకృత్యాదేవత పాండవహననార్థ మక్కడికి వచ్చెను. ఆచెఱువుదగ్గఱ నప్పుడు కృత్యకు యక్షదేవత (యముఁడే) ప్రత్యక్షమై 'నీవు జాతిగలదేవతవై తేని

నాచే నిప్పుడు నిపాతితులయి యెంగిలిపడియున్న యీసల్వొరను నీ వారగింపరాదు. ఎంగిలితిండి తిందువా నీవు నీచదేవత వగుదువు. నామహత్త్వము ముందు నీ నీచదేవతాకార్యము సాగఁజాల' దని గద్దింపఁగా కృత్యాదేవత యప్రయోజకురాలై 'అయ్యో, నేనాఁకలిగొని వచ్చితినే; ఆహారము కావలెనే' అనెను. 'అక్రమముగా ని న్నిట్లు ప్రయోగించిన యాఁకనకస్వామినే యారగింపు' మని యత్షుఁడనెను. అట్లే యాకృత్య దుర్యోధనపురోహితునిఁ గనకస్వామినే యారగించెను.

క. కనకన బేల్వె తగుల్దుదు
కనకననెం బొందు మాతు ధర గెసెయ సుయో
ధనపురోహిత నప్పా
కనకస్వామియనె మునిదు కృత్తిగె దిందళ్.

పంపభార. 8 అశ్వా. 44 ప.

ఈకథ సంస్కృతాంధ్ర భారతములలోఁ గానరాదు. కర్ణాట భారతరచనమునకుఁ బూర్వమే "కనకనివేల్మి కనకనికే తగిలిన" దన్న సామెత యేర్పడియున్నదని పద్యము తెల్పుచున్నది. తొలుత నీనానుడి రసవాదకారునిఁబట్టి పుట్టి వాడుకలో నుండఁగాఁ బంపకవి దానినిఁగొని; దుర్యోధనపురోహితునిఁ గనకస్వామిని సృష్టించి తత్పరము గావించి యుండఁబోలును.

7. ఉప్పులోఁదొమ్మిది

రామాభ్యుదయమున "ఉప్పులోఁదొమ్మిదియును బెట్టి కృపణరక్షణము గావించునే గుణసముద్రుఁ" డని యున్నది. 'ఉప్పులోఁ దొమ్మిది' యనఁగా.

"ఘటః, పటం, జలం, కాష్ఠం, తండులం, తైలమేవచ; శాక, మగ్నిసమాయుక్తం, లవణం, నవ సంయుతమ్"

8. కోహాళి

"మహాళిం గోహాళి సంఘటించినక్రియన్
మధ్యాహ్న వేళన్ మహా
కాళంబైన నభోవిభాగమున వీఁ
కం గాసె బీఱెండ..."

—హరవిలాసము.

ఇందు 'కోహాళి' పదమున కర్థము తెలియదు.

"పార్వతీపతికిఁ బ్రభాతభూపతి గొన్న
యలరుఁగెందమ్మికోహాళి యనంగ."

—ఉత్తరహరివంశము.

పయి రెండు ప్రయోగములు తక్కఁ దెలుఁగున నీపదము నాకిఁక నెక్కడను గానరాలేదు. కుమారవ్యాసకృత షట్పదీభారతమున 'కోహళె' పదమున్నట్టు కన్నడ నిఘంటువున చెప్పఁబడినది. దానికి Cover, Envelope అని అర్థము వ్రాయఁబడినది.

"ఎనుత దివ్యావయవకాంతియ
మినుగుమోహరదేళ్గె మూడిద
వనిమిషాంగద లురగ కాయద
కోహళెయ నుగిదు"

—కుమారవ్యాస.

నహుషుఁడు సర్పశరీరపుటాచ్ఛాదనమును తొలఁగించుకొనుట యిక్కడ చెప్పఁబడినది. కాన కన్నడ నిఘంటుకారు లట్లర్థము వ్రాయుట సంగతమే. కుమారవ్యాసునికంటెఁ జాలఁ బ్రాచీనులగు

మన తెల్గుకవుల ప్రయోగములు 'ఆచ్ఛాదనము' అన్నయర్థమునకు సనిపడ వనుకొనెదను. తెల్గుప్రయోగములు రెండింటికి 'ఉల్లడ' ఒండె 'ఆలవట్టము' ఛత్రము, అర్థము కాఁదగు ననిపించును. హరి వంశపుఁ బ్రయోగముఁబట్టి చూడఁగా నది వేల్పులకు రాజులు మొదలగు వారు పూజాచిహ్నముగా ధరించు ఛత్రచామరధ్వజాదుల వంటిదిగాఁ గానవచ్చును. పార్వతీపతి గగనకేశుఁడుగాన యాదేవుని తలమీఁదికి వచ్చునట్టు ప్రభాతరాజు పైకెత్తిన యాలవట్టమువోలె భానుబింబ మున్నదన్న వర్ణనము సంగతము కాఁదగును. హరవిలాసప్రయోగము నిందు కనుకూలించును. రాగిడివంటి యలంకారవిశేషమో, కిరీటమో యను కొందమన్న 'నలరుఁగెందమ్మి' పదమునకు తామరపూవునాకృతిగలది యని చెప్పవచ్చునుగాని ప్రభాతభూపతి 'కొన్న' యన్న పదమునకు సార్థక్యము కుదురదు. ఆలవట్టముకాని, ఉల్లడకాని 'యలరుఁగెందమ్మి' యాకృతిగలవని యన్వయింప వచ్చును. ఇట్లెల్ల యోచించితిని; గాని 'కోహళె' పదమునకు సమానార్థకముగా మహారాష్ట్రమున 'ఖోళె' పదము కలదని కెట్టెల్ వ్రాసినాఁడు. మహారాష్ట్రపు 'ఖోళె' సులువుగాఁ దెలుఁగున 'కుళ్లా' అయియుండవచ్చును. 'కోహళి' శబ్దమునకు 'కోహళె, ఖోళె, కుళ్లా' పదములు క్రమ పరిణామ రూపములు కావచ్చును. కాఁగా 'కోహళి, శబ్దమునకు కుళ్లాయి, టోపి' అర్థమగును. తెలుఁగుప్రయోగములు రెండును 'కుళ్లా' అర్థమునకు సరిపడఁగలవు. 'కుళ్లా' శిరాచ్ఛాదనమేకదా! అది యలరుకెందమ్మియాకృతిగలది గావచ్చును.

కన్నడపు కుమారవ్యాసప్రయోగము 'శిరఆచ్ఛాదన' మనుటకు సనిపడదు. అతఁడౌపచారికముగా శరీరాచ్ఛాదనమునకే దానిఁబ్రయోగించి యుండఁబోలును.

9. ఇట్టికసూఁడినవాఁడు

ఉత్తరహరివంశమున నరకాసురుని కోడి దిక్పాలురు పాఱిపోవుటను వర్ణించుటలో యముని గూర్చి యీక్రిందిపద్య మున్నది:

క. " ఇట్టిక సూఁడిన వాఁడో
యొట్టిడుకొన్నాఁడొ యనుచు నుల్లసమాడన్
బట్టగుచు మగిడిచూడక
పట్టణమున కేఁగె లజ్జబండతనమునన్ "

పైపద్యమున కనేకు లర్థము నడిగిరి. లోకాచారము గొంత యెఱిఁగినవారుగాని దీనియర్థము వివరింపఁజాలరు. నరకుని కోడిపోయి యముఁడు తనపురమునకుఁ బరుగువాఱుచున్నాఁడు. అట్లు పరుగు వాఱుటలో ముందరిచూపేకాని వెనుకచూపు లేదు. అది చూచిన వారు 'ఈతఁ డేమి యిటికయావమునకు నిప్పంటించి వెళ్లుచున్నాఁడా ? మఱి, వెనుకకుఁ దిరిగి చూడనే చూడనని యొట్టువెట్టుకొని వెళ్లుచున్నాఁడా' అని పరిహాసమాడఁదగినట్లున్నది. ఇటికయావమునకు నిప్పు ముట్టించువారు ముట్టించిననిప్పు అంటుకొన్నదా లేదా అనియేని వెనుకకుఁ దిరిగిచూడకుండ వడిగా ముందుచూపుతోనే వెడలిపోవలెను. అట్లు వెనుకకుఁ దిరిగిచూచిన నాయావముకాల్పు సరిగా సాగక చెడునని లోకప్రతీతి. ఈలోకప్రతీతి దెలియకున్న పద్యార్థ మెఱుకపడదు.

మఱియు నీపద్యము నాల్గవచరణమున 'లజ్జబండతనమునన్' అనియున్నది. దీనికి 'లంజెబందతనమునన్' అనియు, 'లంజెబండ తనమునన్' అనియుఁ బాఠాంతరము లున్నవి. కవికర్ణరసాయనమునను, గౌరన హరిశ్చంద్రచరిత్రమునను ఈపదము ప్రయోగింపఁబడినది. లజ్జబండ=సిగ్గుమాలినవాఁడు.

PART II

[NOTE :—The accompanying Memorandum was written at Benares, by the Editor, at the request of Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar B.A., B.L., Commissioner, Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam, and forwarded to him on the 11th September 1937. The Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute at Tirupati, which was sanctioned by the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Committee in April 1938 is the result of discussions of this Memorandum.]

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A SCHEME FOR AN ORIENTAL INSTITUTE AT TIRUPATI.

THE SANCTITY OF TIRUMALAI

The Śhrine of Srī Veṅkaṭeśa at Tirumalai or Tirupati has a unique history and position. It is one of the three most sacred Śrīvaiṣṇava temples in South India, the other two being those at Śrīraṅgam and Viṣṇu–Kāñcī. The traditions concerning it are scattered over twelve Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. Out of the twelve primary sages (āḷvārs), of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, ten have sung in Tamil of Tirumalai and its Lord. The emperor (Cakravarti), who has given his name to the northern half of the Tamil country (Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam), is connected with Tirupati in legendary history. Tirupati has marked the traditional boundary between the Tamil and Āndhra countries. Its central location between areas in which three South Indian languages were spoken has made the shrine at Tirupati, in a very special way, the common source of inspiration to the religious and lyrical poetry of three vernaculars. Even the hills and forests amidst which the temple has stood have been deemed peculiarly holy. Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa has had a firm hold on the faith of millions for centuries. All Hindus love to believe that He has come down, self-revealed (*Svayaṁ–vyakta*) to hear and grant their prayers. No vow made to His shrine is ever broken. Every temple in South India, or any where else, which is dedicated to Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa, is believed to carry some of the paramount sanctity of the original shrine. In consequence, no other South Indian temple has attracted so many

pilgrims or has become more opulent. Even to Buddhists Tirmualai has attraction; for it is the place in which the grammarian and philosopher Dharmakīrti was born.

The ritual of worship at the temples at Tirupati follows a special school, the Vaikhānasa Āgama, the literature of which is now unknown except to a few priests, whose hereditary occupation is to practise it. While the temple is common to all Hindus, to Śrīvaiṣṇavas it has had a special attraction. From the time of Śrī Rāmānuja, it has been regarded as a primary duty on the heads of Śrīvaiṣṇava community to arrange for the administration of this temple. Modern governments have been much pre-occupied by the task of managing the vast properties of the temple, and of successfully handling the myriads of pilgrims who flock to it.

The Idea of an Institute at Tirupati

Among the aims which have been cherished by the devout, one of the most prominent has been the use of some of the surplus funds of the temple for the creation and up-keep of a great place of learning, worthy of Tirupati and its traditions and of Hinduism. This is admittedly within the powers of the Management. Some of the funds of the temple have been used for educational purposes for nearly sixty years. Where the direct objects of a religious foundation do not exhaust its resources, the law allows either the income or the property to be used in ways as nearly similar as possible to those formulated originally for the endowment. This is particularly so in the case of Hindu temples. Hinduism does not distinguish between 'secular' and 'non-secular' purposes in life. Life is a dedication and religion is the common thread passing through all activities of life and connecting them. The association of religion with education is thus a corollary of a primary aspect of Hindu life. This is why learning in India, has not only been sanctified but deified, and it has been laid down that only by the pursuit of studies would a human being, born in debt to the seers of the past, discharge his obligation. Temples have

become naturally the chosen places for imparting education. They have not only furnished the mental pabulum to the students but they have supplied their material requirements also.

The sanctified offerings of the temple are available for distribution to teachers and learners in the schools attached to the temple. To Śrīvaiṣṇava this is peculiarly acceptable, as it is an article of his belief that no food should be eaten, which has not been previously offered to God in either a domestic or a public shrine. The great halls and cloisters of temples are fit places for residence and lectures. In a temple, learning can be pursued in an atmosphere of solemn dedication springing from the surroundings and by association in daily temple services. In some temples, certain branches of learning will be regarded as peculiarly appropriate and the selection of the *śāstra* for study will be dedicated by either a special aspect of the Deity to whom the temple is consecrated (*e.g.* Śiva regarded as Vaidya-nātha, the Divine Physician, Viṣṇu regarded as Dhanvantari or Śiva looked upon as the original author of the basic aphorisms of Sanskrit grammar), or by the bent of the principal body of worshippers at the shrine or of those who manage it (*e.g.* the study of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy in a Śrīvaiṣṇava temple).

The use of Temple Resources for Education: Historical Precedents

For the use of temples and temple funds for education, we have abundant precedent of which there is indisputable epigraphic record. A few illustrations may be useful. A single village in South Arcot district made provision in the reign of Rājendracoḷa I for maintaining a college of three hundred and forty students, and a staff of fourteen teachers. Of these, seventy were senior students. The *brahmacāris* or junior students began with a study of Sanskrit grammar through the *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti. The four Vedas, as well as the Kalpa and Gṛhyasūtras were taught. Among the senior pupils, twenty-five studied Vyākaraṇa (grammar), thirty-five

Prabhākara-Mīmāṁsā, and ten Vedānta. The College was probably run by Śrīvaiṣṇavas, and the selection of 'Prabhākara-Mīmāṁsā' instead of 'Kumārila-Mīmāṁsā' was perhaps dictated by the closer affinity of the former to Viśiṣṭādvaita. Not far from this college, another was endowed about the same time for two hundred and sixty students with twelve teachers. In addition to the curriculam of the other college, this institution was to teach Itihāsa and Dharmaśāstra as well as Vaikhānasa-Āgama, the Āgama followed in the temple at Tirupati and in many of the older Śrīvaiṣṇava temples of South India.

One feature of the foundations merits attention. The three subjects named above were to be taught to students, and also expounded to *popular* audiences. A social obligation to spread among the laity correct ideas of their religion, usage, law and the ritual of temple worship as well as their traditional history is implied in this arrangement. If a thousand years ago, when there was no rival to Hinduism in the land, and laxity of religious practice and unbelief were practically unknown, there was the need for the instruction of the *common* people in such matters, the need can hardly be less to-day. It is worth while to note the practical bent of such foundations. A good grounding in Sanskrit grammar is a pre-requisite to *all* study, and so is a discipline in all that is requisite for following the appointed daily duties (*āhnika*).

In a small *pāṭhaśālā*, which had provision for only forty pupils, twenty were to begin the study of Sanskrit grammar, and after they had mastered the elements of grammar, they proceeded to study (as senior students) the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda. All pupils are given not only free food, but clothes, lodgings, oil-baths, mats and lamps for night study. Sometimes, there is a restriction of instruction to a special class of students, as for example, in 1229 A.D. when an endowment was made in Tanjore district teaching students from the Malayāḷam country Vedānta. In 1121 A.D. we see a Maṭha endowed for feeding

and teaching a number of students both grammar and medicine (*Āyurveda*).

There is ever an intimate association between Maṭhas and education as they were regarded as peculiarly fitted to act as instructors and guides of the young, and as supervisors of temple worship. The permanence of Maṭhas made them ideal custodians of great libraries of manuscripts, and places where book may be written or transcribed. The temple libraries of South India have disappeared. But some Maṭhas are said to possess such treasures even now. In Gujarat, Rajputana, Nepal and Kashmir great temple libraries still exist. The Jain monasteries, like the Hindu Maṭhas, have fine libraries. Buddhist monasteries in India and Ceylon have always been prominent in such conservation of sacred writings, as today the great monasteries of Tibet are.

Special studies in Temple-Endowed Colleges

The direct purpose of teaching the Āgamaśāstra was to have a supply of properly educated priests for carrying on the prescribed worship in the many temples of the land, whose number was being added to constantly by the pious emulation of kings and private individuals. The lectures on Āgamaśāstra to the public must have been dictated by the need to instruct the lay mind in the meaning and philosophy of idol-worship (*arcā-ārādhana*), and the purpose of the different items of ritual, so that the laity might also participate in and supervise temple functions and ceremonies. In Śrīvaiṣṇava temples and in Śaiva temples, after the tenth century, much stress was laid upon the musical chanting, along *Abhinaya* (gesture) of devotional Tamil lyrics. But through laxity of supervision by the state officers entiusted with the duty, as well as through growing indifference, the duty of chanting came to be neglected by the ninth century in Śrīvaiṣṇva temples, and one like Nāthamuni was needed to revive the practice, and collect and arrange, in the form of a sacred litany, the *Divyaprabandham*. An inscription of 1088 A.D. records the endowment of the chant-

ing of the lyrics of Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār at the Sriraṅgam temple, and one of 1171 A.D. the recitation of the Tiruvāymoḻi during divine service at the temple of Tirukkoyilūr. Within seventy years of the death of Śrī Rāmānuja, we notice that an endowment for the *daily* exposition of his *Śrībhāṣyam*, by competent persons, is made in another Śrīvaiṣṇava temple. Such endowments for teaching and the formation of libraries and the provision of amenities for students on traditional lines to study, without any anxiety for their daily sustenance, have been the pre-occupation of temples, monasteries and pious men in India. Their purpose is always to confirm the people in the belief in the verities of religion and in their attachment to their cultural heritage.

It is worth noting that the duties were discharged with the active co-operation and under the supervision of the state.

Conclusions Derivable from Precedents

From a review of such activities in the old Indian society, certain conclusions emerge.

There is always provision for *advanced* study and teaching for a few, side by side with arrangements for general education to the many. The curricula emphasize the studies needed for the proper discharge of religious and social duties. A suitable balance is attempted between "worldly" and "religious" subjects of instruction. *Both* Sanskrit and the vernacular are taught, *e.g.* Tamil in Śrīvaiṣṇava schools. There is now and then provision for special subjects like Medicine (*Āyurveda*) and Music. Arrangements are made for *popular* education and mass propaganda in religion. Special chairs are endowed now and then *e.g.* Viśiṣṭādvaita or the Mīmāṁsā of Prabhākara. Great libraries are formed with suitable arrangements for the diffusion of literature through the transcription of manuscripts. Lastly, it is *widely* recognized that both local bodies and temples have a duty to use their resources for such purposes.

Their Rationale

A student of history cannot dispute the efficacy of such means. They conserved Hindu religion and culture till the advent of British rule in Hindu as well as in Non-Hindu areas. Had the duty been laid only on the state, and not equally on temples, Maṭhas, local bodies and private munificence, Hinduism and the culture would have perished in the periods of Musalman supremacy. The overthrow of Hindu dynasties and kingdoms did not lead to the overthrow of Hindu culture owing to these arrangements which brought many students and teachers under a common roof and made both specialisation and scholarly co-opertion in colleges possible. The area of study was widened. In the epochs known as 'Hindu' in our history, a large number of persons so educated were needed not only to meet the local demand but for the service of the State, which aimed at governing in accordance with the *śāstras*. The munificence of kings to learned men was as much due to policy as to discriminating appreciation. The prescription of gifts (*dāna*) as the means of grace for Kaliyuga helped the cause of sound learning, as the injunction to give was coupled with the direction that, to be efficacious, a gift should be made only to a person meriting it by his learning and conduct. The rule made a *Dānādhikārī* (controller of gifts) in an Indian court a patron of learning, or at least a judge of it. Recognition by a discriminating Court, as one good enough to receive a *dāna* was virtually a diploma of learning, and was quite as effective. To this day, Pandits cite their being enrolled in the lists of persons selected for *dānas*, during Navarātri, in certain Indian Courts, as proof of their learning.

The System of Daksina to the Learned

A *dakṣiṇā* was similarly both a charitable gift and a reward of learning. Among powerful rulers, the Peshwas were among the latest to make the *systematic* distribution of *dakṣiṇā* part of administrative routine. The annual expendi-

ture of this account, just before the Peshwaship was abolished was three and a half lakhs. The institution was so highly esteemed that while rejecting many items in the Peshwa's budget, after 1817, Mounstuart Elphinstone saved the *dakṣiṇā* fund. The aim was conciliation of the intellectual elements in the community. Those pensions from the fund that Baji Rao II gave were continued to the recipients during their lives.

The Poona Sanskrit College 1821—1856

The balance, including the savings from lapses, was devoted to maintain a Sanskrit college at Poona (1821) located in the Viśrambag Palace, for the encouragement of Hindu literature and science. "For savings out of the fund, fresh uses were found. Out of them were given prizes for useful literary works, translations into Marāṭhi, and stipends, as well as fellowships to scholars, and the salaries of newly founded professorships". So much value was attached to the work of the Sanskrit College that its annual examinations were conducted for some years in the presence of Governor of Bombay. In 1830, following the example of the Government of India at Benares the previous year an English High School was established at Poona by the Bombay Government for giving instruction in English and Marāṭhi to the students of the Sanskrit College. The school developed into an English College (the Deccan College which ultimately replaced the older Sanskrit College, formally abolished in 1856).

The Sanskrit College at Benares (1791)

The foundation of the Poona Sanskrit College was by no means an innovation. It followed a policy laid down by the Government at Calcutta thirty years earlier, on the recommendation of Jonathan Duncan, British Resident in the newly acquired territory of Benares. That sagacious administrator urged on the Governor-General (Lord Cornwallis) the wisdom of setting apart the surplus revenue of the new territory for the support of a Hindu College or Academy to be founded at Benares, "to conserve and cultivate Sanskrit literature and

Hinduism at the centre of their (Hindu) faith, and common resort of their tribes." Jonathan Duncan argued that the British rule would endear itself to the Hindus only if the British Government showed the same care in fostering Hindu religion and culture as Indian princes had done, that the foundation of the proposed academy will help in the compilation of the digest of Hindu law and practices, which was then urgently needed for administration, that British Judges called on to administer Hindu law would receive valuable aid from the body of experts whom the Academy would train up, and that, above all, it would lead to the gradual collection and preservation of "a precious Library of the most ancient and valuable general learning and tradition now perhaps existing in any part of the globe".

Lord Cornwallis gave immediate sanction to the proposals, and under his orders, the Benares Sanskrit College was founded on the 17th November 1791. It still exists, though it has encountered in its long career many vicissitudes, which are chronicled by George Nichols in the history of the institution, which he compiled in 1845.[1] One generous and sagacious act of Lord Cornwallis deserves mention, because it shows the importance he attached to the permanence of the institution. If the College had to depend on surplus revenue of the new province, it might happen that, owing to seasonal vicissitudes, there might be no surplus in some years. Then the College would suffer. The Governor-General accordingly ordered that in such years the *entire* expenditure on the College should be charged to the general revenue of the Government.

The great importance that Lord Cornwallis and his successors attached to the institution is also shown by several other facts. The Governor-General was designated the Visitor of the College. *All* the appointments to its staff, including that of its head (designated 'Rector') were made by the Governor-

1. I have used this manuscript history, through the courtesy of Principal B. Sanjiva Row of the Queen's College; Benares.

General-in-Council. Education in it was not only free, but every student was a stipendiary. As a concession to orthodox sentiment, instruction to the students was given by the professors, in the earlier years of the College, in their own residences at Kāśi. The annual examinations were conducted in the presence of the British Resident, who was expected to take vivid personal interest in the everyday work of the College. Later on, when it was found that the earlier Rectors had failed to administer the College properly, European officers selected for their proficiency in Sanskrit, were associated with the management of the College.

In 1829 an English side was provided, and the Headmaster of the English School was made Secretary of the College. The present Queen's College at Benares has developed out of the English School. Their old association is kept up by holding the classes of the Sanskrit College in the magnificent gothic building erected for the English College, in 1852, at a cost of £ 13,000. The Queen's College has Sanskrit classes of its own, but the two institutions are distinct, and have now nothing in common except the use of the same building. For the preservation of the great library of Sanskrit manuscripts, which was one of the aims foreshadowed by Duncan, a commodious and handsome library has been built by private munificence at a cost of half-a-lakh.

ITS SPREADING INFLUENCE OVER INDIA. ITS EXAMINATIONS

In this building, the offices concerned with the examining side of the College are located. This development of the Sanskrit College was hardly foreseen by its founders, though it is perhaps the only way in which its activities are now known all over India. The policy followed by the Government in regard to the college has been consistently extended. The results are remarkable. In the United Provinces alone there were, in 1937, one thousand and eighty-nine Sanskrit institutions, which received recognition and aid from the Govern-

ment, and which presented candidates for the examinations conducted by the Benares Sanskrit College. About fifteen thousand candidates appear every year for these examinations, and the figures show that every year the numbers are steadily going up. The growth shows that Sanskrit education is popular in the province. The activities of the Sanskrit College now extend to the whole of India. Its modest strength is no measure of its influence and of the part it plays in the life of the country. *It has become an affiliating and examining University, without formally claiming to be one.* It sets the standard for Sanskrit for the greater part of India. For, not only are as many as two hundred and sixty-two institutions affiliated to its examining side, outside the United Provinces, in such distant places as Bombay and Gujarat, Patiala and Rohtak, but the examinations conducted by the Governments of Bihar and Bengal are modelled on those of the Sanskrit College. Sanskrit studies in virtually every Indian State in India, north of Bombay, are influenced by this one institution, because the institutions in such States prepare candidates only for the examinations of this College, which are recognized by every Government and State as qualifying for employment in schools and colleges under their control. The organization of these examinations has necessitated the addition to the College of special machinery for controlling them. A Sanskrit scholar, only junior in rank to the Principal of the Sanskrit College, has been made the controller of examinations, under the designation of the Registrar, and he belongs to the A class of the Provincial Educational service.

It is noteworthy that this wide influence of the Sanskrit College has come naturally and spontaneously, without official pressure and canvassing. It is a tribute to the excellence of its curricula and standards, and to the integrity of its examinations. New examination centres are constantly .being recognized, and the arrangements for the conduct of the examinations are made by the Registrar through the Directors of

Education of the areas in which the examinations are to be held.

THE BENARES SANSKRIT COLLEGE CURRICULA

The courses of study in the Benares Sanskrit College have been evolved by a century of experience. They are based on an anterior training in schools or *pāṭhśālas*, which prepare candidates for the 'admission' (*Prathama*) examination of the College, for which about five thousand and five hundred persons enter every year. There is a four years' course after the entrance examination, leading to the Intermediate (*Madhyama*) examination. The *Śāstri* examination, which corresponds to an initial degree, comes three years after the *Madhyama* examination. A further course of three years leads to the *Ācārya* examination, the highest which the College holds. But, there are *post Ācārya* courses of study of a very advanced character, leading to a non-Government examination known as that for the *Vācaspāti* degree, which can be taken in Veda, Smṛti, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta and Purāṇa. Under a special private endowment, every successful candidate of this examination receives the title of *Vācaspati*, and a robe of honour worth Rs. 100 and the best candidate in each group receives in addition a gold medal and a cash prize of Rs. 1000.

The courses of study are planned on the concentric system. After a suitable foundation, differentiation into special subjects begins, but there is a common core in all special subjects, representing an essential element. Thus, the *Prathama* or Entrance examination has two parallel divisions, known as the ordinary (*sādhāraṇa*) and the scriptural (*Veda*), and the latter is divided again into two divisions, one for Śukla-Yajurveda and the other for Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda. For all divisions, the examination is by six papers. Of these four are common to all group, viz. Elementary Sanskrit grammar (Laghukaumudī), Elementary Mathematics (*gaṇita*), Reciprocal translation (Sanskrit and Hindi), Classical Sanskrit Poetry

(selections from Vālmīki and Kālidāsa) and Sanskrit Prose (Pañcatantra). The distinctive subjects for each of the three groups are Elementary Logic (Tarkasaṅgraha) for the ordinary and prescribed portions of Śukla or Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda to be learnt with accent (*Svara*).

The Intermediate (*Madhyama*) course has six branches, viz. Veda (Subdivided into two distinct sub-branches, for Śukla and Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda), Grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), Literature (*Sāhitya*), Philosophy (*Darśana*), Tradition (*Purāṇa-Itihāsa*), and Astronomy (*Jyautiṣa*). Though each branch is distinct, they have common elements, which precede and follow the *Madhyama* course. As the Intermediate course is of four years' duration, it is taken in four parts (*Khaṇḍa*), and there are three papers for each part. In each year's course or part (*Khaṇḍa*), two out of the three papers are common to all branches, so that in a four years' course, leading to the *Madhyama* examination, two-thirds of the content represents general Sanskrit education, and one-third alone specialized study of one of the subjects, which gives its name to the branch. The common elements are grammar, poetry, prose, rhetoric, reciprocal translation (Sanskrit-Hindi) and Sanskrit Composition. In two branches, in which an adequate knowledge of Sanskrit is not usually found, namely Veda and Purāṇa-Itihāsa, the defect is corrected by taking Grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*) to the special subject of the Branch. The Philosophy (*Darśana*) branch includes the elements of *all* the six systems (Nyāyā-Vaiśeṣika, Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, Mīmāṁsā) with the exception of Yoga.

The Degree (*Śāstri*) course shows further branching, from the main stems. Sub-branches have now the value of independent branches. Thus Grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*) and Logic (*Nyāya*) are subdivided into Traditional (*Prācīnā*) and new (*Nava*) and either sub-branch is sufficient for the degree. Sāṅkhya-Yoga forms a single branch. Vaiśeṣika is properly combined with the old (*prācīnā*) Nyāya. Vedānta is subdivided into three groups, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva. The

Jaina system *(Jaina-darśana)* emerges as an independent branch. There is a branch on General Philosophy *(Sādhāraṇa-darśana)*, which deals in a less advanced way with *all* philosophical systems, orthodox and unorthodox. Astronomy *(Jyautiṣa)* branches into Pure *(Gaṇita-Jyautiṣa)* and applied *(Phalita-Jyautiṣa)*, *Dharmaśāstra* (Hindu-law) emerges as a new branch. There are six papers, divided into three pairs, one for each year, in an ascending scale of difficulty, in each branch.

The *Ācārya* course of three years follows the same lines, with the same branches and divisions as the *Śāstri* course, but with studies of an advanced character. It is noteworthy that in Vedānta all the three schools are taught on the basis of their respective interpretation of the *same* two Upaniṣads. In Literature *(Sāhitya)* the study of selected Sanskrit and Prākṛta *inscriptions* is prescribed. The course in Philosophy *(Sādhāraṇa-darśana)* is based on the study of the more advanced sources in each branch but of a lower standard than those selected for the special study of each branch independently. The carefully drawn-up curricula of the Benares Sanskrit College have furnished the models for similar curricula in North India and the Dakhan as well as in the Benares Hindu University.

The Teaching of English in the Benares Sanskrit College

The Sanskrit College has maintained since 1847 a modern or English side, and it was mainly for it that distinguished European Sanskrit scholars like, J. Muir, J. Ballantyne, H. Kern, F. E. Hall, A. Gough, A. Venis, Ralph Griffith and G. Thibaut were brought in. It was reorgnized in 1884, and since then has provided teaching in modern subjects and English upto the Matriculation standard. There is an Assistant Professor and an English teacher for this work.

In the Queen's College, modern studies and the learning of English naturally predominate, but Sanskrit is taught in

accordance with the curricula of the Allahabad Matriculation and Intermediate Board. Some of the distinction of the Sanskrit side of the Queen's College, and its principal Sanskrit professor has been awarded the tittle of *Mahāmahopādhyāya.*

PROVISION FOR RESEARCH WORK

For research work the knowledge of English is essential. As it has largely to be pursed in the Library, the Librarian of the Sarasvatī-bhavan of the Sanskrit College has the grade of a professor of the College and helps in the direction of post-graduate work. The present Librarian is an M. A. and M. Sc., of the Allahabad University, and his assistants highly qualified pandits.

Among the aims of the Sanskrit College were the inculcation of the spirit of research among indigenous scholars, and the training of pandits in what Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar termed "the critical and comparative method of enquiry." They were sought to be attained by appointing to the headship of the College eminent European Sanskritists, like those named above and by developing the library of manuscripts with which the College started.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE PUBLICATIONS

A third means of promoting research was the provision for the publication of serial works and of the investigations of members of the staff of the College and the senior students, which would give evidence of their erudition and critical acumen. For over fifty years, and from 1866, the vehicle for the scholarly work of the College was the famous *Pandit* or *Kāśi-vidyā-sudhā-nidhi*, published by a local publisher of Benares. From 1890 to 1898, much of the work of the College was seen also in the "*Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series*," of which the Principal was the editor. Since then the "*Sarasvatībhavan' Sanskrit Texts*," published by the Government Press Allahabad have placed before the world many rare Sanskrit works, edited with introductions in English. A number of stray papers have been collected periodically in the "*Sarasvatībhavana Studies*,"

of which nine volumes have been published. Members of the staff also now edit a Sanskrit journal under the patronage of a South Indian Maṭha. Many scholarly publications for which members of the college staff are responsible have appeared through other publishers.

Causes of the Success of the Sanskrit College

For all this success two causes have contributed :—

1. The select character of the staff, which has obtained pandits of real eminence like Bāpu Deva Śāstri, Sudhākar Dvivedi, and others.

2. The excellence of the Library, i.e., the Sarasvatī-bhavanam Manuscripts, in Nāgarī, Maithili, and Bengali scripts, dealing with every branch of Sanskrit literature. Many of these manuscripts are unique. The "modern" side of the library contains over sixteen thousand carefully selected books in English and European languages dealing with Indian culture and history. The Staff is competent to guide students in research. The preparation of card indexes etc., which forms the main preoccupation of research libraries in the West, is not undertaken for want of staff and funds. This is a handicap.

Sanskrit Studies in Calcutta

The College of Fort William founded by Lord Wellesley for the training of civilians in the languages of the country had a Sanskrit side, and it initiated the collection of manuscripts forming the Government Collection in Bengal. The Government Sanskrit College was founded in 1827. It was deliberately modelled on the Benares Sanskrit College, and was entrusted with the same functions. It has had a distinguished staff, among whom E. B. Cowell and Īśvara Candra Vidyāsāgara are remembered. In this College also, European Principals were appointed or persons, who had been given a "Western" training, and this was done deliberately for giving pandits some training in Western methods of linguistic study and criticism. The College has seen better days. It has a

good library and a large collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, mostly in Bengali characters.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and other Research Societies

But it has always been thrust into the background in research activities by a formidable rival, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Founded by Sir William Jones in 1783, and patronized by successive Governors-General, the Society (the *only* Indian association authorized now to bear the designation *Royal)* has taken the entire field of Science, Arts, and Letters relating to Asia as its field, and has rendered incalculable service to every department of Oriental culture including Sanskrit. It has a great library, and its own collections of manuscripts as well as the custody of Government collections. In competition with it, no College can stand in research activity. The formation of an Oriental (and particularly Sanskrit) aside in the post-graduate schemes of the Calcutta University by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, has also thrown the Sanskrit College into eclipse. Further institutes for research into Indian culture, like the Indian Cultural Institute and the Saṁskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad have taken over much of the work.

Importance of Publication

The advance of Indian historical studies is dependant on the progress made in Archæology, Numismatics and the historical study of Indian Art in all its divisions. In these auxiliary studies, much of the work done has been under the initiative of Government, for the last seventy years. Correct knowledge of Sanskrit and Pāli (viewed in their historical development) is an essential requisite for archaeological work. Governments have therefore been alive to the intimate connection between the two, and have often undertaken the publication of Sanskrit and Pāli texts, as they have undertaken the publication of epigraphic material, and the formation of great

Museums of antiquities and art. One of the well-known serial publications was the "Bombay Sanskrit Series", now transferred to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The *Sarasvatibhavan 'Studies'* and *'Series'* represent the enterprise of the U.P. Government. In Bengal, the work of the Asiatic Society, and the serial publication of rare books in its *Bibliotheca Indica,* which has won world-recognition, have relieved Government of the responsibility. In Madras new oriental publications, under Government initiative have been occasional. The duty is now being relegated more and more to private academies, the Universities and the enterprise of publishers. The conjoint efforts of so many competing agencies is yet hardly sufficient to prevent the rapid decay or disappearence of many works, which only publication can save from extinction. Good work is being done by Indian states, like Mysore, Baroda, Travancore and Kashmir in publishing rare works, which would otherwise remain unknown or be lost for ever. But, it is not always clearly visualized even by those who undertake this noble duty that the most effective way of preservation, and of encouragement of research would be to plan the distribution of the new publications in such a way that a scholar in any part of the world will not have to go very far in search of the material for his research, because all new publications are well distribuied on a regional basis, and not left to the accident of a distribution made to individual scholars, as contrasted with institutions, or dependant on purchase by private persons or libraries, out of their limited resources. No books of the kind can be expected to pay by their sale even a fraction of the cost of publication. Instead of expecting any return from sales, it will be well if those responsible for publication will make up their mind, as Professor C. R. Lanman did in regard to the world famous Hardvard Oriental Series, that the distribution should be planned with care and with the deliberate aim of providing accessible facilities for research in as many places as possible, and that it should be made free. The feeling is not absent in

Governments, which undertake such publications, and in Universities, but it is still hazy and needs to be cleared, made distinct and accepted as an article of policy.

PROVISION OF OTHER AIDS TO RESEARCH: EXPLORATION

More important than even the publication of texts is the systematic exploration of libraries, great and small, for the discovery of treasures hidden in them. The Governments at Bombay and Madras inaugurated such searches under competent scholars. Reports of such explorations with comments now and then on valuable finds form the romance of research. The reports of Buehler, Kielhorn, Peterson and Bhandarkar in Bombay and of Rājendralāl Mitra and Haraprasād Sastri in Calcutta are mines of information to scholars. In Madras, the earlier searches undertaken by Oppert, Seshagiri Śāstri and Hultszch were not striking, but the reports issued once a triennium, summing up the finds of the Government Search Parties, are eargely looked forward to. The Government collections in Bombay (now partly in the Bombay Asiatic Society's charge) and in Madras (soon to be in the custody of the University along with Col. Colin Mackenzie's collection of manuscripts etc.) have grown out of purchases suggested by the searches. Even when it is not possible to acquire a manuscript of a work, which is really scarce, it is desirable that information should exist as to where it is deposited. Such information should be recorded with the utmost precision. Correct descriptions of the work should be made and recorded. In the past the tact and resourcefulness of officers entrusted with such searches were shown by their power to overcome the fears and scruples of owners of manuscripts, and in persuading them to lend or sell them. Cheap ways of photographic reproduction of manuscripts are now available to librarians, which makes it unnecessary to purchase manuscripts, which owners are reluctant to part with on grounds of sentiment. The work has to be done all over India on a *big* scale. Many works once reported as existing in private libraries, and even in public collections, have been lost or gone

out of view. Such losses are constant features of our literary hoards. If they are to be checked, searches and cataloguing on a big scale should be undertaken.

Photographic or hand-written copies of manuscripts should be taken in every case where it is not possible to acquire them. Mechanical reproduction has advantages over hand-written copies. In the former, the reader will be able to decipher it himself, and the margin of error due to mistaken reading by scribes is reduced. The fragility of the paper or palmleaf, or the condition generally of many manuscripts makes it risky to handle them. In such cases, the mechanical copy is more convenient and does far less damage to the original. If the object is to determine questions connected with a manuscript, either the original or a *mechanical* copy should be accessible. A scribe is no substitute for a scholar, and a scribe who knows the language is sometimes more dangerous than one who can only reproduce letters mechanically and without understanding.

Collection of Rare Manuscripts

There is now intense competition between scholars filled with the collector's instinct and public institutions of the west for the acquisition of objects of antiquity generally from India, as well as Sanskrit manuscripts. Day after day many rare manuscripts are going out of India. There is an organized market for them, in places like Benares. Though most of these pass into public collections of the West and become later on available to Indian scholars, for inspection, under varying restrictions, their loss to India is regrettable. One way of preventing such depletion is to have a law, as in Italy, prohibiting exportation of works of antiquity. Another is to enter the market and buy up for libraries in India all such treasures. A third way is to wait for the sales of the collections of distinguished Oriental scholars and buy back for India the manuscripts which they carried away from the country. Such hoards are, or are likely to come soon into the market: e. g.

those of Sylvain Levi, C. R. Lanman and H. Jacobi. There is a tempting opportunity for this work of recovery as well as for starting a big Oriental Library of specialized modern literature, much of which is out of print. The acquisition of the entire collection of a great scholar often gives the purchasing library a status, it would take years of strenuous effort for it to attain. The University of Tokio bought up the library of Max Muller, and at one stride it got to the front rank of Oriental Libraries. If Tirupati starts an Institute which acts similarly, when the opportunity comes, it will become a *tirtha* in the modern sense to even non-Hindu scholars.

CONSERVATION OF TRADITIONAL PANDIT LEARNING

We hear much now and then of the need to bring about a harmony between the *Pandit* type of learning and instruction and of the western. Beginning with a degree of admiration bordering on real veneration for the pandit, we have passed through stages in which he was derided and despised and then given a contemptuous toleration as useful person, under strict supervision. The pendulum has swung to the other end latterly. In the Conference of Oriental scholars held at Simla in 1911 under the presidency of Sir Har-court Butler one of the declared aims was "to attract, in course of time, pandits and maulavis of eminence to the (proposed central Oriental) Institute so as to promote an interchange of the higher scholarship of both the old and the new school of Orientalists throughout India. "Another aim of the Institute was to provide Indians highly trained in original work, who would enable schools of Indian history and archæology to be founded hereafter, prepare *catalogues raisonne* of manuscripts, develope museums and build up research in Universities and Colleges of the different provinces." The Conference was for strongly maintaing and promoting the ancient and indigenous system of instruction in India. It was in accordance with this view that a movement was started enthusiastically for the formation of an Oriental College of the traditional kind at Poona at an initial cost of about one and a half lakhs, and a recurring

cost of about Rs. 75,000 annually. The scheme could not be put through, but is still on the programme of public men in Mahārāṣṭra. Had it been successful it would have meant the revival of the College started by Elphinstone in 1821 and abolished in 1856.

The Conference and the agitation for restarting the old Poona Sanskrit College are symptomatic of the revived interest in Oriental culture in India. The Benares Hindu University was started, as will be seen later, with similar aims. The opening of Chairs in Sanskrit, Ancient Indian History and in Indian Culture in the Indian Universities has also illustrated the growing conviction that the country owes a duty to its own past to provide every facility within India which can now be found only in the great Oriental Institutes in Europe and in the bigger Universities of the West, for enabling Indian scholars to pursue research on the religion, philosophy, literatures and history of India within the country itself. The need to pool new knowledge has led to the founding of special journals for the purpose, of which we have now several, doing notable work. It has also promoted the biennial Oriental Conference (first held in 1919) and conferences of philosophy students annually. But the two out standing results of the movement are the Amalner Institute of Philosophy and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona.

The Amalner Institute of Philosophy

This institute aims only at research in Indian Philosophy. Its object is to encourage persons, who have already studied Western Philosophy (chiefly University graduates in philosophy) to get a first-hand knowledge of Indian philosophy, in general, and the Advaita system, expounded by Śaṅkara in particular. The Institute has a small permanent staff to direct the work of the Fellows. A Fellow receives a stipend ranging from Rs. 75 to Rs. 150 a month, and free quarters. There is no teaching work for Fellows. The antecedent qualification

for election to a Fellowship is a good degree in philosophy combined with a working knowledge of Sanskrit. The Institute has a good library of philosophy, which is kept up-to-date. It publishes a journal. Weekly meetings are held to discuss philosophical topics.

Two features of the Institute should be noted: the attempt to build up a new approach to and a new appreciation of Indian Philosophy, especially Advaita, by a comparative study of Western and Indian Philosophy; and secondly, the limitation of the scope of the researches to *one* school of thought. The Institute reverses to position taken in Government Sanskrit Colleges in regard to the relative position of Eastern and Western Philosophy and then approches Indian. The existing Oriental Colleges have signally failed to give their students any real knowledge of European Philosophy. They have not had the staff, competent to lecture on Western Philosophy, and their students do not know English and cannot read by themselves English books on Philosophy. The failure has a lesson.

THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Among research institutions, this Institute is entitled to front rank. Its foundation marks the culmination of two movements working independently. The first was the agitation for making Poona again a centre of Sanskrit studies, and it concentrated on a demand for starting a Sanskrit College at Poona, as recommended by the Conference of Orientalists in 1911. This movement has been revived from time to time, the last occasion being 1927. The other was a desire on the part of the many pupils of Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar to give a concrete expression to their *gurubhakti* by founding an institution, which would carry on the kind of work in which he was so justly distinguished. This was why it was decided to make it a research institution, its teaching activities being confined to post-graduate students and special students come for research training.

It is the declared purpose of the Institute (which was

formed in 1918) to promote amongst its own members as well as others "a spirit of enquiry into the history, languages literatures and religions of India, and the cultivation of critical and scientific methods of research." Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, one of its promoters, was able to secure to the Institute the transfer of both the great Sanskrit Manuscripts Library of the Deccan College (Containing over twenty thousand manuscripts, which had been collected during half-a-century at a cost of about two lakhs,) and the Government Sanskrit Series, with its entire stock. The Government also gave grants of Rs. 3,000 and 12,000 annually to the Institute for the maintenance of the Library and for carrying on the publication of the Sanskrit series. These grants were so made that unexpended balances would be added to the amount remaining at credit. Thirty acres of land were acquired, and half the area was set apart for the Institute, and the other was sold to colonists, mostly scholars who wished to work in and for the Institute and desired to live close to it. The acquisition of the grounds cost Rs. 12,000. Buildings were put up for the Library, the lecture rooms, the offices the store-rooms, and the rooms where the Mahābhārata work would be carried on. These cost about a lakh aud a half. H. E. H. the Nizam gave a donation of Rs, 30,000 from which a Guest House, in which visiting scholars might live, was built. The equipment, which included a press cost nearly the balance of the second lakh. About two thousand and five hundred books were received from Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and the library has received other presentation also. Owing to its standing and the reputation of those connected with its inception and management, it receives most Oriental Journals free and in exchange for its Journal, termed *Annals*, issued regularly since 1919. The Chief of Aundh has given a lakh of rupees as starting donation to enable it to undertake the magnificent edition of *Mahābhārata*, which has already vindicated the Indian claim to high critical scholarship.

The collections in the Library are catalogued scientifically.

Descriptive catalogues are in preparation. Card indices and apparatus for enabling the Institute to act as a bureau of advice and information have been prepared. Arrangements have been made to teach French and German to post-graduate students. Special lectures of an advanced character on Archæology and Epigraphy are given to senior students by members of the Institute. Occasional lectures are arranged for by distinguished servants, many of whom visit the Institute, attracted by its Manuscripts Library and the atmosphere of active research pervading it. Many Governments and Indian States gave grants to the Institute. In 1935–36 it received in grants Rs. 38,000 roughly, and made Rs. 11,000 roughly on the value of books sold and work done by the Press. It spent nearly Rs. 11,000 on publication, and over Rs. 20,000 on its establishment charges. The printing of the Annals and Reports cost Rs. 1,920. The Institute has a small reserve fund, and virtually lives within its general and special grants and the sale proceeds of its publications. In the world of Oriential scholarship it occupies in India a position analogous to that of the Indian Science Institute at Bangalore in regard to Science. It is built on a modest scale but is pulling its weight.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN ORIENTAL COLLEGES

In one important respect Oriental Colleges founded or administered by Governments are at a disadvantage today. They must eschew certain duties, which would have been prominent in Hindu Governments in the past. Modern Governments proceed on the assumption of neutrality of the State in religion. Such neutrality is interpreted not as equal treatment of all denominations as of equal neglect of all religious work. When Lord Cornwallis founded the Benares Sanskrit College and when Elphinstone continued the Peshwa's Dakṣiṇās, they were both assailed on the ground that a Christian Government should do nothing to encourage "heathenish" practices. The agitation led ultimately to the surrender of state control over all indigenous religious institutions in 1818,

and 1840. Propaganda is out of the question in state-managed colleges for pandits, when even the teaching of theological literature, *viewed as such,* is interdicted. Nor was it possible for the Government to follow in its fulness the old discipline and method of organization of the *Gurukula* type. Except a denominational University like the Hindu University, no University drawing its authority from statute can do anything to suggest the support of particular forms of belief or doctrine. This attitude of the bulk of educational institutions throws an additional responsibility on those maintained by private bodies, temples and Maṭhs to make up for the omission, and to provide for religious teaching, religious propaganda, and for instruction according to ancient canons. It is maintainable that the resources of a Hindu temple may, as justly be used for imbuing the Hindu community with a firm conviction in the tenets of Hinduism, as the resources of a Church are regarded as legitimately available for Christian teaching and proselytizing.

The Old Scholastic Discipline

There has been in recent times a movement to revive the old scholastic discipline, the life of *brahmacarya* in *gurukula*, and to make it the basis of all modern teaching even. In Hardwar we have institutions run on the assumption. When the Hindu University was started there was a keen desire that it should be distinguished by the revival of this old ideal. Two justifications of the old system are possible : the inseparableness of religion and life to the Hindu making it necessary to provide an instrument of education which would reconcile both ; and the effect of a way of life in promoting by conformity an inborn conviction in traditional ideals and beliefs. It shoud be possible to reform methods of teaching and study in Sanskrit Colleges, without at the same time modernizing the *gurukula* way of living for pupils and teachers. *A modus-operandi* is dictated to a college maintained out of temple funds, which again depend on voluntary

contributions by the body of believers. But it is not now *to* be found except in small *pāṭhaśālas* and in the new *Gurukula* established near Hardwār.

THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY: ITS ORIGINAL AIMS

Among the aims set out in the first scheme of the Hindu University the religious note was conspicuous. It was stated in 1904 by the promoters of the movement that the primary purpose of the new university was the promotion of the Hindu religion and Dharma. As means to this end, the subsidiary aims included the training of teachers competent to give religious instruction in their tenets to Hindu youths, the promotion of the study of Sanskrit as necessary for the attainment of these ends, and the wider use of the mother tongue in both religious and secular instruction. The advance and spread of scientific knowledge was also included in the programme, as not inconsistent with these aims, and as calculated to appeal to modern reason and reconcile reason and belief. After the foundation of the Univerity in 1917, the aims were widened so as to include the promotion of learning and research generally and of a synthesis between western and Indian culture. The implication of the declarations is that a religion and a mode of life which claim to be based on eternal verity (*sanātana dharma*) can have nothing to apprehend from the spread of modern scientific ideas, and the cultivation of the historical and critical spirit.

ITS CONTRIBUTION TO ORIENTAL CULTURE AND HINDUISM

The main contributions of the Hindu University to the fulfilment of the promises lie in the following: the institution of Faculties *of* Oriental Learning and of Hindu Theology: provision for the study and practice of *Āyurveda*; enforcement of conformity to Hindu belief as a condition of service; regular religious exercises and religious instruction in Hindu tenets, in the class room, in weekly lectures on the *Gītā*, and in occasional religious lectures, *kathas* and religious dramas

and in the publication of Hindu almanacs, and Hindu religious text-books.

The College of Oriental Learning in the University is only a Sanskrit College. It has a staff of twenty-seven instructors and four hundred and thirty pupils. The minimum salary to an instructor is Rs. 50/- and the maximum Rs. 300. Several teachers receive Rs. 200/- a month. The annual expenditure on staff is about Rs. 35,000. All students are educated free, and about two hundred students who reside in the University Hostel get rooms, furniture and lights free. The expenditure incurred by the University on such services may be valued at Rs. 8,000. About Rs. 7,200/- a year is spent in scholarships to students. The *Theological College* has a staff of four instructors and only twenty-eight students. It costs about Rs. 300 a month.

The Raṇavīr Pāṭhaśālā, which serves as the feeder school to the Colleges, has a strength of three hundred, and costs the University in the aggregate Rs. 12,000 a year. All its students get free food and lodging in one or other of the many charitable institutions at Benares.

The direct cost to the University on account of the three institutions is about two-thirds of a lakh. If the feeding charges of the students, now incurred by charitable agencies other than the University be also considered, the aggregate cost of the institutions may be taken as about a lakh a year.

In their curricula these original institutions follow more or less the lines of the Benares Sanskrit College. In the Vedic College, instruction is limited to one branch of the *Yajurveda*, i. e., *Śukla*. The Theological course includes instruction in *Paurohitya* which does not find a place naturally in the Government College. The titles of the examinations (*Prathama, Madhyama, Śāstri* and *Ācārya*) are identical in both Colleges. But, the course leading from the entrance to the Intermediate examination (*Madhyama*) extends only to three years as against four in the Government College, but

the curtailment is due to the slightly higher standard of the University *Prathama*, examination. English as well as a vernacular are compulsory in the University *Prathama* examination. In *Prathama* examination other vernaculars besides Hindi (even Tamil and Telugu) are permitted. *Jaina-darśana* is provided for in all the College courses. In *Vedānta*, the *Dvaita* is not recognized as an independent branch. The Vedic studies are made capable of leading, on a concentric plan of instruction, to the *Dharmācārya* degree. There is a special examination in *Paurohitya*.

As in the Sanskrit College at Benares, there is an examination at the end of each year, for all the nine years of the course. There is no post-Ācārya course, and no Vācaspati degree. There is no manuscript library, and the libraries are good enough for instruction, but fall short of research requirements. The Library is not organized for research work, and the librarians are mere custodians of books, and not guides of reading as in Sarasvatībhavan. The hours of instruction are the morning hours. But the *chātras* live in hostels exactly like the other students of the University and there is no attempt to impose conformity to any *āhnikam* for *vidyārthis* as in *gurukulas*. There is a lecturer on the history of Sanskrit literature and there is an English teacher.

Research in Indology falls to the Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History and Cultute departments of the Arts College from which one can qualify for the D. Litt degree by research.

RELIGIOUS WORK OF THE ORIENTAL COLLEGES

The atmosphere of Benares, where for centuries men of affluence have delighted to endow the old learning, by providing not only *pāṭhaśālas* but *annaśatras* for *vidyārthis* is favourable to the reception of the idea, which is now encountering some hostility from the western-minded members of the Hindu University, that the pursuit of learning of the raditional kind, for which there is not much demand is possible only when atleast the maintenance of the students is taken over by the University.

But as the funds of the University are limited, and as in the competition between different faculties those on the humane side, including the Oriental have been crowded out of the distribution of resources for development, it has not been possible to provide free food for the students, and even free lodgings for *all* the alumni of the Oriental sides. Many of them are dependant on private charity. Others are obliged to purchase their food, though the purchase of cooked food is contrary to *śāstraic* injunction. The provision of opportunities for free feeding would have been larger had the Colleges been located in the city of Benares, where there are numerous free *satras*. Even then, the life would not be in conformity with the old ideal.

SYNTHESIS OF ORIENTRAL AND WESTERN CUTTURE AT BENARES

For this much desired purpose, the facilities which now exist both in the Government College and in the University at Benares must be deemed far short of what may be desired even on a modest scale. The only modern feature of the curricula in the University SanskritCollege is the teaching of some English, and the teaching of the history of *Sanskrit literature* by a graduate in Sanskrit. In the Oriental College the *darśanas* or systems of Philosophy are not studied comparatively with the Western systems. Some provisions for such a study exists in the department of Philosophy in the Arts College, but it is hardly more than what is required for appreciation of both, and is not likely to lead to research or constructive work unless the student of the Philosophy department in the Arts College has already acquired outside the department sufficient proficiency in Indian logic and and some *darśana*. Such a result is, however, not beyond his reach at Benares. Both the University Oriental College and the Government Sanskrit College follow hours of instruction, which do not coincide with those of the Arts College. There are as many as eighty Sanskrit Schools in *Kāsī* alone. It *is*

possible for an ardent student to cultivate Sanskrit and a knowledge of Indian philosophy in some darśana, or some branch of Indian literature, outside his regular College working hours. There is some real love for their ancient culture among the students on the "western" side of the Hindu University and of the Queen's College. Accordingly, many of them, though a very small proportion, of the total student population, avail themselves of the opportunities, and study Sanskrit literature and *darśanas* in such institutions, and acquire the qualification of *Śāstri* or *Ācārya*, and much more usually the lower qualifications, by passing the appropriate Government or University examinations. Many do it as matter of duty or of love. Such men are the salt of the community in which they live, and contribnte to the spread of a discriminating appreciation of Hindu religion and culture. The reaction of their studies is perceptible in their mode of life and ideals. But this is far from the realization of the constructive work of fusing Hindu and Western knowledge by research and original thought. The ideal is there but is largely unrealized, and difficult of attainment. The synthesis can be effected only by the provision of facilities for comparative study, for research and for advanced studies. For the realization, even through such instruments, libraries rich in *both* sides and guides competent in *both* directions are needed. Happy results cannot easily follow merely by providing libraries and leaving the uninstructed research worker to do his best without competent guidance, direction and the aids, which are placed at the disposal of similar workers in the great academies and libraries of the West.

Āyurveda in the Hindu University

In one branch of ancient Indian knowledge however a co-ordination of eastern and western science has been effected in the Hindu University. This is in *Ayurveda*, for which a special college has been founded, with a full complement of staff, connected hospital, pharmacy, dissection hall and hostels. The practical side is kept uppermost in view, and the aim is to turn out a skilled practitioner. The course extends to six years, and

the minimum qualification for admission is the Matriculation examination, or its equivalent, with Sanskrit as one of the subjects. The course is modernized both as to content and as to form of instruction and the practical aspect is stressed. A big hospital, costing two lakhs, named after the first Vice Chancellor, and built by his family, furnishes the facilities for clinical instruction. A good dissection hall is provided. The hospital has an *Āyurvedic* and an Allopathic side. Instruction in modern science, like Physics, Chemistry or Botany is imparted by teachers who are graduates in the subjects (M.Sc.) and have also undergone the *Āyurvedic* course with distinction. The anatomical and physiological instruction is given by graduates in modern medicine and surgery. *Āyurveda* is studied not as a "dead" but as a "living" art, whose practice will bring relief to many poor sufferers, for whom the more expensive systems of treatment are not accessible. There are four examinations in the course. The first, which comes at the end of the first year, is on Hygeine, Physics, Chemistry, Zoology and Botany. The second comes at the end of the third year and deals with Anatomy, Physiology, Materia Medica and Pharmacy. The final examination is in two parts and is taken at the end of the fifth and sixth year. The first part deals with Obstetrics, Gynaecology, Diseases of Children, Medical Jurisprudence, Toxicology and Mental diseases, and the secend with Diagnosis and Treatment, Surgery and Pathology. The basis of instruction is the old *Āyurvedic* literature, supplemented by modern works and oral teaching. Besides the clinic training in the Hospital, the students work in the *Āyurvedic* Garden, where they are taught to identify herbs, and in the Pharmacy, which prepares *Āyurvedic* medicines, under expert supervision, on a commercial scale. Every student has to serve as a clinical clerk in the medical ward, a dresser in the surgical wards, a clinical clerk in the opthalmic wards, practice postmortem operations for a period of two years, attend the tuberculosis ward, and out-patient for fixed periods. About a fifth of the students are exempted from the payment of tuition fees. Most

reside in University hostels. In the result, it is a Sanskrit edition of a modern medical school, using old texts for modern exposition. There is scope for synthesis of methods, but the promotion of research in *Āyurvedic* and the pursuit of original investigations on the properties of indigenous drugs are still only aspirations. The University maintains a department of Pharmaceutical Chemistry, which can be brought into co-ordination with the work of the *Āyurvedic* Pharmacy, and in which the necessary training for undertaking investigations in the properties of indigenous drugs, can be acquired by students of *Āyurveda.* The net cost of *Āyurvedic* College and the Pharmacy, excluding the cost of the Hospital comes to about Rs. 40,000 a year and is met from Government grants.

The College publishes no Jonrnal. It helps in organizing an annual conference of *Āyurvedie* practitioners from all over India, and occasional debates on such questions as the doctrine of *Tri-doṣa*, in which the members of the Science Faculties also participate.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN THE UNIVERSITY

The Sanskrit members of the University in Arts, Oriental and *Āyurvedic* Colleges form a sort of religious corps. They are prominent in not only the weekly *pravacanas*, but contribute to the *Sanātana Dharma* a Hindi weekly, which is well-written, widely read and widely circulated and is published by the University. The *Jyotiṣa* section of the Oriental College publishes a *Pañcāṅga* which is held in such wide esteem that about Rs. 2,500 a year accrue from its sale. They lead religious deputations, take part in *Pariṣads* convoked either specially or during *Māgh-melas*, and perform the *Yajñas*, undertaken by the University now and then. They command the weight due to their calling, learning and membership of a distinguished body.

THE VISVABHARATI

No account of the efforts towards a resuscitation of Indian culture will be complete, which overlooks the work of the *Viśva-bhāratī* founded at Bolpur by Rabindranath Tagore at the beginning of the century. It was both an attempt at relating Indian culture to world culture, and an experiment in education. Its relevant features are the stress laid on the neglected arts side of our present-day education, the aesthetic and emotional sides, by providing for the teaching and practice of the fine arts, Music, Painting and Sculpture, and reviving the art of expression in dancing and the drama ; the provision of facilities for advanced studies and research, in carefully chosen libraries of books and manuscripts, which while not very large, miss nothing that is necessary ; developing an atmosphere of serious endeavour and high craftsmanship ; and creating pride in indigenous literature and culture side by side with an appreciation of world-relationships and cosmopolitanism. The experiment was begun and is being carried on with an astonishingly small expenditure, mostly met from the poet's own purse, supplemented by donations made to him personally, which represent the tribute to his greatness. A small country estate, with an old set of buildings, dedicated by his father to the "use of those who seek peace and seclusion for their meditation and prayer", with a few cheap buildings, many of which are only thatched, and the cheapest kind of structures, consistent with simple comforts, for the dwelling-houses of the staff, and one or two fine halls, constitute all the expenditure items which usually exhaust the resources of even less ambitious academies. The Poet cannot forget that ideas which have transformed the the world have had their birth under spreading trees, and that world movements have begun with conferences under humble roofs. This has its lesson. The Poet has concentrated on men rather than material equipment, though he has not ignored the essentials of the latter. Some of the men whom he has gathered will not be available for mere money. Under the

thatch of its simple library, Viśvabhāratī has apparatus for research not found in many rich Indian Universities. The fame of the Poet draws to Śāntiniketan not only contributions from many nations, anxious to share in the beginnings of an institution which has taken all the world's culture for its ambit, but it brings to it, as pilgrims and workers, some of the foremost men in the world of research in things cultural. A student at Śāntiniketan thus gets into touch with some of the foremost minds, and learns from them first hand the methods of appropriate research.

RESEARCH FACILITIES FOR INDOLOGY OUTSIDE INDIA

A modern University takes, in the old Hindu way, the whole realm of knowledge and thought for its province. The Universities of Europe and America have entered into an honourable competition in their efforts to promote the study of the languages, literatures, and religions of India, and have established chairs in suitable subjects, and provided facilities for study and investigation, on the most modern lines in great and well-manned libraries. It is this that brings them, as to Śāntiniketan, a steady inflow of donations of books and manuscripts. We now send out young scholars to Europe to study oriental subjects, not because they have teachers there who excel those in India in exact knowledge of the subjects and in wide learning, but because it is only there that our men will find the ordered plans of research, and get the training in modern methods of investigation, under men, who have themselves used, and often made, the tools. European scholars visit India to meet pandits who are marvels of erudition. Our scholars go to European Universities to meet scholars who are famous as organizers of research. The Lytton Committee desired that Indian Universities should be so equipped and toned up that their *alumni* need not go outside for such training as is now available only outside India. The Universities in India have made many distinct improvements in this direction, under the guidance of men trained in the West, but the progress made still fall short of what is needed to make the periodical

pilgrimage to the Meccas of learning in the West unnecessary for our aspirants. The School of Oriental Studies in London claims to have spent in one recent year over a lakh on Indian studies alone. For certain studies which pertain to India, we have now more facilities outside India than within it. This is not due to apathy or want of funds, but is the result of an imperfect perception of a duty to our culture among the affluent amongst us, and among the custodians of public endowments, as well as to deficient sense of proportion, which allows money to be spent lavishly, for instance, in religious celebrations, which are merely spectacular and are not obligatory, and which if saved up, will do much for learning. A suitable use of surplus temple and Maṭh funds and a diversion of money from not very wise uses, can enable the managers of such organizations to wipe out the reproach.

General Conclusions from the Survey

The following conclusions may seem to be warranted from the above review.

1. There is an obligation on Hindu temples and wealthy Hindus to contribute, according to their resources, to the conservation, diffusion and proper understanding of Hindu ideals and Indian culture, and for the inculcation of correct conceptions of the Hindu religious ideas, and Indian philosophy.

2. As a means to the attainment of the above aims, Hindu Academies are needed, which will teach Sanskrit and languages, in which the religious and philosophical literature of Hindus, are contained, and which will advance the knowledge of "things Indian" by instruction, study and research.

3. The Academies should not merely diffuse a knowledge of Indian religion and culture, but train persons competent to guide the ritual in temples and in the domestic circle in which the Hindu has many ceremonies to perform as a religious obligation, from birth to death. There should be trained not only men who will scrupulously carry out the prescribed

ceremonial but understand its signifigance and its authority, pandits, who will not only chaunt *mantras* with the correct accent but interpret them ; and priests who would perform the ordained worship according to the *Āgamas*, and who will understand the meaning and purpose of each detail of the prescribed ritual ; and men who recite hymns, and do so with an appreciation of their meaning and poetry. We need too from such Academies men who can advise from adequate knowledge on the validity of religious and sociāl usage. Such knowledge should be not merely verbal and textual, but be based on discriminating comprehension. The modern layman depends more upon his *purohit* than his ancestor did ; and if he rèspects the purohit less, it is because both are ignorant of the meaning of the *mantras* which the one repeats after the other. In Baroda, the Government has legislated to correct the defect. Every priest officiating at a marriage is licensed by the State after training in a State school, and after examinina-tion ; and he has to explain in the vernacnlar to the bride and the bridegroom the meaning of the *mantras* recited during the ceremony. The impositon of such a test suddenly in South India will vacate many *purohitships*. In any religious revival in India, good *purohits* will be available. This *is* recognized in the Hindn University where *Paurohitya* is a special branch of Oriental learning leading, after tuition and examination, to the attainment of a certificate.

4. Religion must appeal to both reason and conscience. A modern religious teacher will fail if he cannot speak to an audience in language and in terms which it can follow and reconcile with its knowledge and experience. The teacher must know not merely the tenets of Hinduism, but enough of the world and of modern science to be able to interpret them with lucidity and in a convincing way. The teachers of religion should be *modernized* in their equipment. The implication of this conclusion is that it will be an advantage to such men to know English. Such a prescription need not be dismissed as without precedent. Rājā Toḍarmāl,

the author of a famous digest of Hindu *Dharmaśāstra* and every orthodox man, made Hindus learn Persian and Urdu as the only way of influencing their Musalman rulers and of understanding them.

5. The linguistic equipment of a research worker may well include languages, other than English, in which much of the new discovery finds expression. This is the justification for teaching French and German to research students.

6. Where a layman is dependant on a professional man, the teaching of his craft to the latter should not be a monopoly but enough scope should exist for teaching it to laymen also. The implication of it is that *Āgamaśāstra* should not be the monopoly of temple priests, but instruction and research in it should be open to those who are not to be priests.

7. A command of the vernacular is an essential aim of all school teaching. If the sacred canon is contained in the Vernacular, there is all the more reason for its proper cultivation.

8. Cultural heritages cannot be comprehended aright without an adequate knowledge of their historical background. An Oriental Academy should not neglect the study of history and archæology.

9. Indian philosophy is best studied comparatively, and in conjunction with Western philosophy.

10. Limitation of resources, including availability of competent workers, imposes a division of labour between academies. Duplication should be avoided. When every Sanskrit College teaches the same optional subjects, there is no scope for widening the range of studies and interests for their members. Each institution should undertake by preference the work best to its environment, genius, aptitudes and destiny. Only one or two Sanskrit Colleges teach the Vaiṣṇava *Prabandha;* few teach *Viśiṣṭādvaita;* and only Tirupati College teaches

Vaikhānasa-Āgama. Specialization in these will be appropriate at Tirupati.

11. In well-endowed institutions there is a greater obligation laid on the management than on the managements of the less affluent to provide for higher branches of work and research. To a community, visualized as having a future, and to the world as a whole, the advancement of knowledge by research is more important than the mere diffusion of extant knowledge. Culture means more than mere instruction. This is why most modern benefactions of any large size are earmarked for research. Sir Tarakanath Palit and Sir Rash Bihari Ghosh, as well as Mr. Tata gave their benefactions to research instructions. So it has always been in the West. It is possible to construe an Indian Maṭh as endowment for philosophic endeavour, at least in its inception. A good subsidy which will enable *one* competent scholar to add to the stock of laboriously garnered knowledge may mean more in world-economy than in giving a high school education to a multitude. The aim of an institute at Tirupati may well be primarily the advancement of research than the production of pandits for employment in High Schools.

12. Research in languages, history and philosophy requires great and well-organized libraries. If limitation of resources imposes any restriction on the scope of an institution dedicated for higher educational work economy should not begin with the library. A really effective library will have not merely all the necessary literature on its shelves in print or in manuscript, but it will provide all the up-to-date aids to research and study in the way of *catalogues raisonne*, card indexes of periodical literature, digests, indexes and works of reference generally, as well as expert personal guidance by skilled librarians. It will be well to specialize on one or two lines and build up a complete collection, rather than attempt a wide range and create only a library of the popular standard. Concentration on Śrīvaiṣṇava literature, the literature of the *Āgamas*, and on literature of Sanskrit generally, over and

above the collection of what is required for research purposes and for the work in the Sanskrit College may, for example, be deemed appropriate in an institution maintained at Tirupati. The comparative isolation of Tirupati will necessitate its library having to be self-contained, unlike, for example one in a city like Madras, where there are two fine manuscript libraries, and several good libraries of modern books and editions of Sanskrit works.

13. Publication is the logical corollary of research. Investigations will be purposeless and fruitless if their results are not made available as soon as possible to those interested, in authentic accounts. A journal is a necessary adjunct of Research Institute. A special line of publication may also be justifiably undertaken by an Oriental Institute, and the world may be enriched by the publication of adequate editions of unpublished works. Here also concentration on a special class of literature may be advisable. Kashmir for instance confined its publishing activities to a class of Śaiva Sanskrit literature.

14. An institute will be well advised to strike out a new line for itself and establish an individual tradition, marking it from others. In an institution started from temple resources this will not be difficult. The individuality of the new institution may appear in its mode of life, it specialization, and the ideals it sets before itself.

15. Modern academic opinion is against any institution engaged in teaching and research functioning in isolation; it must keep in touch with workers engaged in similar work everywhere else, and the contact should be personal. One way of achieving this end is to arrange for visits by similar workers, arrange for their stay, and secure their co-operation by getting them to give addresses. It is only by such means that an institute and its members will get abreast of the progress in their special studies.

16. Colleges and *pāṭhaśālas* maintained by temples for the study of Sanskrit or religious literature should not, consistent-

ly with the outlock of the shrines, evolve ways of organization of the daily lives of their alumni, which are discountenanced by the traditions of the religion and orthodox opinion. The life of students in such institutions should be on the *gurukula-vāsam* principles. It is therefore better for the school to undertake their direct feeding than give money doles in lieu of feeding. Apart from the liability of such grants to be not wisely expended by the recipients in a pilgrim centre, *brahmacārī* and *sanyāsin* are prohibited from owning or handling money, and the purchase of food is not proper for a brahmin. If hostels are formed for them, their will be no objection to partake the food prepared if it is first made into an offering in a temple or shrine.

17. In an educational institution maintained from the funds or a religious institution, not only will confirmity in religion be expected of its members, but they will be, when of the same persuasion as the chief body of worshippers, made to share in temple duties, which may be appropriate for them. Attendance in chapel was required of all students of English Colleges in Cambridge and Oxford. The ecclesiastical origin of many educational foundations in England made them really places for training persons for the Church. A College or University maintained out of religions endowments may well be looked on similarly, and required to contribute the training needed for temple worship and ceremonies.

18. The teaching of *Āyurveda* should be not as a branch of culture but as a living Science, and it should be done, as in the Hindu University, only in close association with a *big* hospital, representing both kinds of treatment, and instructors, strong in both *allopathy* and *Āyurveda* can be appointed.

19. The reputation of an institute will depend on the character of the persons, who are recruited to its staff. Both the prospective students and to the outside learned world the attraction of the Institute will lie in the presence of men of real eminence in the world of scholarship, as associated with the

daily work of the institution. A *part* of the staff at least should consist of scholars, who have already made a name, and who have more than a provincial reputation. The recruitment should be so made as to secure for the service of the institution a combination of western and traditional training. Buildings and equipment alone, however generous, cannot build up the reputation of a research institution. It must, to begin with, have the attraction of great names. In every branch of instruction, the head should be a scholar, who could hold his own against best men in that branch anywhere in India. Recruitment must be made un-influenced by considerations of birth, domicile or sectarian affinities, but subject to an underlying convention imposed by the nature of the endowment, Thus, in a professedly Catholic institution, it is desirable to prefer Catholics to Protestants ; and even if the latter are selected they may be required not to do anything which can be construed as antagonistic to Catholicism. To teachers of real ability the attraction of an institution will largely lie in the fame it enjoys, and in the opportunities for association with men of similar ideals, standing and scholarship. Oxford and Cambridge can get the pick of the men in any branch for their service on this account; and such cannot be tempted to take service else where merely by the offer of higher pay. Nevertheless, emoluments will count, especially in a new institution. They should be reasonable, and such as are paid to men of equal standing and reputation elsewhere. In fixing salaries, account should be taken of such things as the implied social distinction as well as opportunities for extra earnings. For example, in Benares every distinguished pandit gets as *dakṣiṇā*in the *vidvat-sabhas*, which are frequently convened by Rajās and rich people, a substantial addition to his official earnings. Many of them make an income also by editing books for Benares publishers and by examining for the Government examinations and for the Universities of North India.

THE EXISTING INSTITUTIONS AT TIRUPATI

Before considering the recommendations for the establishment of the proposed institution, it is necessary to review the nature and scope of the existing institutions in Tirupati, to see how far they fulfil the ideals which may be generally set for the new institution, and how far they may be adapted to the new purposes.

The Devasthānam at Tirupati maintains a Sanskrit College and Vedapāṭhaśālā which have been in existence for nearly sixty years. Two English High Schools are also maintained by the Devasthānam at Tirupati and at Vellore. There is no connection between the High Schools and the Sanskrit College except perhaps in occasional transfers of Sanskrit teachers from one to the other. The English teaching in the Sanskrit College is done by an under-graduate teacher who is borne on its staff. The English and the Sanskrit institutions do not appear to render any reciprocal services.

The Sanskrit College teaches upto the *Śiromaṇi* standard of the Madras University in six subjects: Sāhitya, Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya, Pūrvamīmāṁsā, Advaita-vedānta and Viśiṣṭādvaita-vedānta. The School presents students to the Sanskrit entrance examination conducted by the Madras Educational Department. In the Vedapāṭhaśālā, the course lasts ten years, and is confined to Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda. There are departments of *Vaikhānasa Āgama* and *Divyaprabandha*, in which the course of instruction lasts for five years each. The instruction in Veda and *Divyaprabandha* is apparently verbal, and consists in training in correct memorizing. Interpretation is not included in the work. Antecedent or concurrent instruction in the grammar of the languages does not appear to be imparted, atleast adequately. The Āgama course seems to be confined to those who have to follow it as a hereditary occupation. Neither Tamil nor English appear to be subjects of study to all students of the College. Śiromaṇi course extends to four years, after the entrance examination

Three fellowships are sanctioned, each tenable for five years, and are intended for post-graduate study.

There are besides the Principal, six Professors, six Assistants and three Pandits, besides an 'English' teacher. The Principal lectures on the history of Sanskrit literature. Each of four Professors has charge of two subjects.

The Library has about two thousand volumes, including books in English, and multiple copies of some books. It has no manuscript. The annual grant for new books is only Rs. 200.

The aggregate strength of the institution is about one hundred and fifty. Over a hundred pupils get stipends ranging from Rupees seven to ten and four extra stipends are reserved for persons, who have become Śiromaṇis in one branch and desire to acquire qualification in an additional branch.

The College is held in the Nammāḷvār temple, which has been remodelled so as to provide in the cloisters and a fine hall the requisite class and office accommodation, and living rooms for about forty students. Night lights for study are supplied free to the resident students, who form only about a fourth of the aggregate number. A hostel is in contemplation. No food is provided.

The hours of work are three periods of forty five minutes in the morning and four such periods in the afternoon.

The obligatory religious duty of students consists in the daily recitation of the Veṅkaṭeśāṣṭottara, and very short religious discourses are delivered to the students in the daily assembly.

In 1936, out of seven students who passed the Śiromaṇi Examination, six went up in Sāhitya and the seventh in Nyāya. In the Preliminary Śiromani examination that year out of the six successful students five passed in Nyāya, one in Vyākaraṇa and one in Viśiṣṭādvaita. The production of a

solitary Śiromaṇi in Viśiṣṭādvaita, in alternate years, in an institution maintained by a Śrīvaiṣṇava Devasthānam, provokes attention.

Their Weak Points

Apart from its aggregate numerical strength and its offering *six* options for the Śiromaṇi examination, there is little that can distinguish the College from the score of other Colleges, which are now affiliated to the University for the Śiromaṇi course. The Mylapore Sanskrit College, for instance, had only forty students in the same official year, and it trained them in *three* branches, *viz*. Mīmāṁsā, Advaita and Sāhitya. But, it has no attached school. The percentage of *non-residential* students at Tirupati is nearly seventy, while at Mylapore College it is less than twenty-five. The number of candidates presented for the University examinations is far greater at Mylapore. The average cost of boarding for a pupil of the Mylapore College was about Rs. 94 a year; while the average cost of stipends and boarding for junior and senior students taken together at Tirupati was about Rs. 76, and for senior students alone Rs. 120. The Mylapore College concentrates, on Mīmāṁsā and Advaita, and the bulk of its students pass in these branches. There is no such concentration at Tirupati. The specially Vaiṣṇava features, *e.g.* the teaching of Āgama-Śāstra, *Divyaprabandha* and Viśiṣṭādvaita are crowded out by others. The Vaikhānasa instructor at Tirupati is also the Professor of Sāhitya, the branch with the largest proportion of Śiromaṇi students in 1936. The average annual cost of a Śiromaṇi student to the management is about Rs. 250 a year, which is about twice the cost of a student of one of the ordinary First Grade Colleges. It thus costs twice as much now to produce a Śiromaṇi as a graduate in Arts or in Science. The Principal of the Tirupati Sanskrit College has stressed the fact that the attraction of a Sanskrit College is the departmental recognition of the Śiromaṇi qualification for service in schools. He apprehends that a College certificate will not obtain the

same recognition, and adduces it as a ground for the proposal to have at Tirupati a University, whose diploma will command the recognition.

From the stand point of Management, which finances and administers a Sanskrit College, the relevant questions to ask are: "What place does the College hold in the economy of education and scholarship? What contribution does it make to knowledge or to social welfare? What disadvantage to the community will follow if the institution is closed? What distinctive purpose does it serve?".

If an attempt is made to answer sueh questions on behalf of the Tirupati institution, the admission must be made that it has little individuality, that its special purposes are served only perfunctorily, that it has made thus for no addition by research or by original publication to extant knowledge, that its *modus vivendi* is not directed towards the intensification of traditional ideals of life and of convictions on religion, that its main objective is to train up a few persons who will be able to earn a living by teaching Sanskrit in English schools, and that if it is abolished, its disappearance may not make any but a local impression. To help by education a young man to earn his living is not an improper object of a College. But, the aims of education especially in Sanskrit, should be larger and nobler. The main justification for the revival of the classical education is their use in recreating traditional ideals, conserving ancient culture, and providing society with teachers who will lead it back to well-tried ideals in thought and action. Such aims can hardly be fulfilled by the extant type of the Sanskrit College while for the limited aim of getting suitable recruits for school Sanskrit teachers' places, training in either Sāhitya or Vyākaraṇa alone will suffice, and advanced courses of study in Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya and Vedānta are superfluous. Even if Sanskrit literature is to be studied for its own sake, and the Darśanas are to be studied for their content and mental discipline, the education now attempted is short of the required standard. If the aim is to

train up persons, who have been educated in the traditional way in Sanskrit, in modern methods of study and investigation, not even one of the Sanskrit Colleges now affiliated in the Oriental Titles Courses of the Madras University, can satisfy it. None of them have adequate facilities in either equipment or staff for genuine research. A library of two thousand books may be good enough for examination coaching; but it is a poor equipment for a research institute. In a place like Madras or Benares, where research students have other big libraries accessible to them, and the guidence of distinguished scholars of real eminence, the shortage of staff and equipment in an individual college will be no serious implement to higher study or research. The case is on a different footing in a place like Tirupati, which must be made self-contained if it is to be fit for advanced work.

Standards of Sanskrit in South and North India

From the stand point of a benefactor, who seeks to endow a new institution, the crucial question for which a satisfactory answer must be found is whether the institution will "deliver the goods", *i.e.* ensure that its graduates really obtain that degree of proficiency which will enable them to make the most of the learning laid open to them, of their own capacity and training, for their own advantage and to the advantage of society. The answer to the question resolves itself into an enquiry into standards.

Such an investigation must cause dissatisfaction with the standards of instruction and attainment now possible under the Madras courses in Sanskrit for the Siromaṇi tests. The duration of the entire Śiromaṇi course is four years after the entrance examination. Judged by the books prescribed for study, the Śiromaṇi standard comes midway between those of the *Śāstri* and *Ācārya* examinations at Benares and in North India generally. The Madras entrance examination in Sanskrit is slightly higher in standard than the *Prathama* examination of the Hindu University, which again is slightly more

difficult than the *Prathama* examination of the Government Sanskrit College. Allowing for the differences in the standards at each end to be represented by a year of study, the teaching which is spread over eight years in North India is compressed into four at Madras. An overburdened curriculum usually carries its own punishment. It can lead to success in examinations in only one or two ways: cramming and silent lowering of standards. Those who have personal knowledge of both the North Indian and the Madras curricula and examinations, held that both the above evils have now be come features of the Madras system. Such pressure must destroy originality of mind, and provide an insecure foundation for advanced work and independent investigation. With a lower "content" of Sanskrit knowledge, the Sanskrit B.A. Honours student at Madras can undertake research work with more confidence and assurance of good results, than a Śiromaṇi can, with an initial better equipment in Sanskrit. Not only does the latter furnish no real foundation for research work, by students, but it cannot lead to such higher studies as are involved in the *Vācaspati* test of Benares. A radical change is necessary to enable the best to be made out of the material now going into our Sanskrit Colleges in South India. The courses of study must be lengthened and strengthened, weeding must be carried out at more frequent stages, the examinations must be brought into line with those of the rest of India by associating outside examiners with internal examiners for the Oriental Titles Examinations, and the courses must be re-oriented and recast so as to provide for continuous specialization from stage, to stage, without the sacrifice of the essentials of a general or cultural education. Candidates so trained will not have their faculties and powers stunted or starved by forcing the pace in instruction and will preserve enough spontaneity and individuality to enable them to undertake with suitable guidance and aids, both advanced studies and real research work, which in quality will satisfy western standards.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It should be the aim of the Devasthānam to found at Tirupati a first-rate Research Institute, with appropriate divisions, for the study of Sanskrit and other languages, of the Hindu religion and philosophy, and of Hindu culture generally. Its aim should be to advance knowledge by study, teaching, research and publication, and to help in the spread of correct ideas of Hindu religion and religious ideals. It should aim at conserving, adding to and spreading the traditional learning in Sanskrit.

2. It should be the special aim of the Institute to advance a knowledge of the literature of Śrīvaiṣṇavism by teaching, research and publication, as well as by conservation of the manuscripts and books of the denomination.

3. On the Research side the objects of the institute should be:

(1) to build up a first-rate and up-to-date Oriental library, so equipped and manned as to be able to afford all facilities for ordinary students and advanced students for study, and for the latter to carry on research. Such aids as topical bibliographies, digests of articles and papers, card indexes, and critical material must be collected and made available.

The library must collect either in the original or in mechanical or hand-written copies, as many unpublished works as possible. Its aim should be to specialize in South Indian Sanskrit literature generally, and in the literature of Śrīvaiṣṇavism in particular. It must endeavour to build up as complete a collection of manuscripts as possible in Āgama-śāśtra, Vaikhānasa asd Pāñcarātra.

The library should contain all the apparatus necessary for enabling a student to obtain a correct knowledge of the historical background of Indian culture.

It should carry on through its officers and through members of the staff of the College and Pāṭhaśālā attached to the

Institute, searches for Sanskrit and other manuscripts, collect and copy them, on approved lines.

(2) To organize a Musuem of antiquities (Archaeology, Numismatics and Art) in association with the Library.

(3) To arrange for the training of *pandits* in research methods so as to place indigenous learning on broad and sound basis.

(4) To open classes for training qualified students in modern research methods, including instruction in palaeography, the handling of documents, and coins, and their interpretation.

(5) To provide suitable instruction to graduates in Sanskrit, who desire to obtain further instruction in particular branches of Sanskrit literature with a view to sit for advanced examinations.

(6) To undertake and publish, with the co operation of outside scholars, critical editions of texts, as also original studies bearing on Indian culture and religion, and a Journal.

(7) To publish catalogues and other aids to research.

(8) To promote Indian studies generally and of Sanskrit and Śrīvaiṣṇava literature specially.

(9) To help the Devasthānam generally in preparing discourses, pamphlets etc. on the tenets of Hinduism.

(10) To arrange for extra-mural lectures and lectures in the Institute by distinguished scholars.

(11) To hold conferences and assemblies of scholars, and to grant them marks of honour.

(12) To act, as a bureau of advice and information on all subjects connected with Hindu culture and Śrīvaiṣṇavism especially.

(13) To provide instruction in Western Philosophy to students of Indian Darśanas to enable them to make a comparative study of Eastern and Western Philosophy.

(14) To do all things calculated to promote Oriental Studies generally.

4. On the *Instructional side*, there should be, in association with Institute and under the general supervision of its Director:

(1) A *Sanskrit College.* It should train up students for the Public Examinations of Universities or the Sanskrit College at Benares, up to their highest standards.

Instruction in this College should emphasize Viśiṣṭādvaita, the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas, and the Prabandham.

Special courses should be opened in *Paurohitya*, and a certificate of proficiency will be awarded after suitable examination.

In the Vedic courses, emphasis should be laid on the Taittirīya-śākhā. Interpretation will go on with teaching the correct chanting of the Veda.

The courses of study should be remodelled so as to give the student of Veda in the Pāṭhaśālā the necessary knowledge of the language.

The Pāṭhaśālā should be brought into co-ordination of the College.

Instruction in Āgamaśāstra and in Divyaprabandham should similarly provide for the antecedent linguistic equipment.

A *working* knowledge of both English and vernacular (Tamil, Telugu or Hindi) should be ensured, for *all* students. and a competent knowledge for research students and those who require more proficiency than is given by the general course for their special studies *e.g.* study of Divyaprabandham.

The staff should be remodelled so as to have men of eminence at the head of at least the major departments.

The College should be mainly residential, and be located with its boarding houses etc., in a special *campus* in which its members will live.

The mode of life, hours of instruction and discipline should be modelled on those of a *Gurukula*.

The College should co-operate with the Devasthānam in furnishing the services of its students and staff for help in Veda-pārāyaṇa, and in reciting Sahasranāmams etc.

No fees should be charged. Those who cannot afford to pay their way will be boarded and fed free, and be given an oil-bath weekly, free medical attention and medicines when they fall ill, and two sets of cloths a year.

A small sum should be set apart for each College student, and it will be given to him in a lump, when he leaves the College after qualifying for its highest examination, provided his progress and conduct have been satisfactory; but the payment of the bonus will be discretionary, and it should not be claimed in the middle of the course or as a matter of right by any student.

The College may admit (to specified courses only) casual students, who wish to study them, and it may charge the students so admitted such fees as may be deemed proper.

All members of the College should confirm in their lives and conduct to the standards set by the best Hindu Tradition.

(2) *A Sanskrit Hih School.* This should prepare students for the admission examination to the College. The courses of studies will be re-modelled so as to provide an adequate grounding in Sanskrit, a working knowledge of the Vernacular, and some knowledge of English, as well as of subjects of general knowledge like Elementary Mathematics, Elementary Science, History and Geography.

The discipline should be on lines similar to that of the College. Persons not living with parents or very near relations will live in the Hostels and be boarded free like the College students.

(3) *The Veda, Prabandha and Āgama* classes should be merged with the College and School, but as regards admission, hours of instruction etc. suitable readjustments will be made to suit their special requirements.

5. Staff and Establishment

For the entire group of institutions, efficient direction is vital. In a place like Tirupati which is isolated, and has no special academic atmosphere, *good* direction is vital.

The *Director* of the Institute should have general control over all the institutions, and should be given a free hand. His time will be fully taken up in the beginning in organizing the different sides, in building up the institutions, in overhauling them, and above all in creating a tradition. Everything will depend on his character, equipment, zeal, knowledge, experience and driving powers. In the Bhandarkar Institute, there was need for such a director, even though every one of the chief promoters, who happened to reside in or near Poona, was equally competent to undertake the direction, and give his zealous co-operation. In the Benares Sanskrit College, the original appointments were made unwisely, and two Rectors had to be removed by the Governor-General. The person selected as Director should have standing, and prestige and be able to secure loyal co-operation from the members of the institutions placed under his charge. The success or failure of the experiment will depend on the choice made to fill this key post.

6. The Library

For the Library, a Curator will be needed. He should not be a mere keeper of books. Librarianship is an art. The Librarian of an Oriental library should be an Oriental scholar. He should be able to prepare descriptive catalogues, discover gaps, and provide aids to research.

Attached to the Library, there should be the Transcription section, consisting of paid scribes, and the operator for a Photostat or other mechanical apparatus for making mechanical copies of manuscripts,*

There should be an Assistant Librarian, and a clerk-typist,

* Up-to-date apparatus for taking photographic copies of books, pictures and manuscripts has now been secured.-- Ed.

a binder and some servants. The work of the Librarian will be very heavy in the beginning.

Among extra hands to be appointed to the Institute, two should be mentioned: the first, to give lectures both to the students of the Sanskrit College and to others on Western Philosophy and the second in Ancient Indian History and Culture and their auxiliary subject Archaeology. The former should be well up in Indian Philosophy and should be able to make a comparative study, of both. The present way of teaching the *darśanas*, without such comparative and critical study, only taxes the memory and fails to strengthen the mind.

Hindu culture must be studied on its historical background. There should be a well-trained specialist, in Ancient Indian History, well-equipped in Archaeology, Numismatics and Epigraphy, and possessing a suitable knowledge of the languages, on the staff of the Institute. He should organize the Musuem.

7. Books and Manuscripts

A small library is nearly as bad for research work as none. The expenditure on books cannot be made in dribblets. *A good* beginning must be made and all the neeessary modern works of reference etc. collected. The manuscript library will take years to build. That of the Bhandarkar Institute is the work of seventy years, and Sarasvatībhavan of one hundred and forty years.

But it may be possible (as in the case of western and American libraries) to buy up complete collections of scholars and make a good initial start. The photostat will make it unnecessary to buy Manuscripts, which can be photographed.

The value of manuscripts and of many old books is steadily going up, and it will continue to do so. This is worth remembering. When a great manuscripts library, is being organized, the capital spent is not lost, but is well invested.

In a city like Madras where there are other libraries, a new institution will not require to spend so much on books at

the start. At Tirupati everything must be got ready before higher studies can be inaugurated. The filling of the library with the necessary books should be regarded as among the most urgent steps in the organization of the institute.

The value of a library is proportionate to the number of good works of reference it contains. For an Oriental Institute these are likely to be both many and costly. It was here that the Bhandarkar institute had an initial advantage. The new Institute will need the best dictionaries, works of reference and encyclopædias particularly on the Oriental side, including many which are out of print, scarce and expensive; complete sets of the chief learned periodicals; and publications of special organizations, learned societies etc. The St. Petersburgh Sanskrit Lexicon will now cost forty pounds. A set of the Journals etc. of the three Royal Asiatic Societies may run to about four hundred pounds. Epigraphical publications are costly. The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics and the Dictionary of Philosophy will cost about Rupees four hundred. In character and content, so far as Sanskrit and the allied subjects which form the subjects of pre-occupation for the new Institute are concerned, the Institute cannot afford to equip itself less generously in books than the libraries of any University. Such an expense will be cheerfully faced only if the stewards of the estates of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa realize that nothing can be more acceptable to the Lord than the provision of books by which His truths may become revealed, and the minds and hearts of men may be opened and turned towards Him.

With the Government Collection of books and manuscripts, and the gifts of books received from Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and others, the Poona Institute *started* with a library worth about two and half lakhs. The Sarasvatībhavan library has manuscripts, which may now be valued at five lakhs, and printed books worth about Rs. 80,000. The Benares Hindu University received from a millionaire a valuable collection of Sanskrit books, covering every branch of

Sanskrit literature, and it has added to it considerably. All the apparatus necessary for the study of Indian culture in its historical aspects, and of Sanskrit literature generally has been gathered in this library. The *minimum* provision which can be made for books and manuscripts, in the opinion of experts, for an institution of the kind at Tirupati, is a *lakh*.

This is by no means excessive. For a thousand rupees we may get only one hundred and fifty to two hundred printed books, ins pecial branches of literature. A manuscript of five thousand *granthas*, if not rare, will be regarded as cheap at the cost of its transcription, which according to Madras and Tanjore Library rates is Rupees ten for a thousand *granthas*. This will show how little even a lakh will secure. When the Institute is well established and has made is reputation, it will receive in exchange for its publications or as gifts from Geverments and learned bodies, and as presentations by private authors and by benefactions, many free additions to the Library.

A word of caution has to be uttered in regard to Library grants. They should be kept available for use, whether block grants or annual grants, to be utilized as occasion arises after the financial years for which they are made. Savings of one year should be carried on to the next. Many rare books have to be waited for, since they appear rarely in second-hand dealer's catalogues. The expenditure of one year wlll be no criterion of what can or will be expended in another. The practice suggested is that of the Bhandarkar Institute.

8. EQUIPMENT

The supply of the necessary furniture for office and class purposes can be kept down relatively to the cost of up-to-date library cases for manuscripts, card-index cabinets etc. For classes, it should suffice to use mats or durries spread on the floor, and old fashioned desks, with raised platforms or *āsanas* for the teachers. These will create an atmosphere of simplicity and conformity to tradition.

The cases for books of great value and for manuscripts should be dust, insect and damp proof.

Chemical fire extinguishers must be among adjuncts of the library.

The Photostat and other copying apparatus should be attached to the library, and so should be the appliances for cataloguing.

A source of some income in the future will be the fees charged for supplying photographic or hand-written copies of manuscripts to other libraries and to scholars.

The operator of the photostat should be borne on the establishment of the library.

When electric lighting is available, the library should be suitably lighted for night use.

9. GROUNDS

A healthy situation, aloof from the distractions ahd noise of a pilgrim town, is needed for a residential institution of the kind. Quiet is not less necessary for a Library. This is why Libraries are situated in the middle of spacious gardens. In Poona, the B.O.R. Institute has fifteen acres of grounds. Even students living the Gurukula life in Sanskrit academies should not be denied facilities for keeping fit by suitable exercise. The śāstraic injunction makes the body the foundation of *dharma*. Play grounds are thus necessary. For Hostels, the College, and the Institute and all for all other purposes, an area of about firty acres is desirable. It was understood that the cost of such a block, in convenient situation, will be about Rupees fifteen thousand. Whatever it may cost the money expended on it will be well laid out, as site values will go up. The grounds should be enclosed, drained, raised where necessary, and laid out with roads. Access should be by entrances which can be locked up at night. If a tank or river is not available in close proximity, water will have to be laid, and proper arrangements for *avagāhasnānam* (bathing by full immersion.)

10. Buildings

The aim should be, if the idea of acquiring a separate *campus* be accepted, to erect all the buildings on this area. Till then, use can be made of existing buildings, with suitable temporary adjustments.

The amount to be spent on buildings is to some extent dependant on the available resources. A note of warning is needed against providing more than what is required in the way of conveniences in a hostel for students, who come from families of limited means. Living in ways much above the standard of their class is not good for any young men, and particularly not for those destined to *Vaidika* lives. The simplest designs consistently with health and comfort should be sufficient. If proper floors can be provided, which can be covered with mats, cots and tables will be unnecessary.

As Vedic chanting should begin in the early hours of the morning, it will be an advantage if the Vedic Pāṭhaśālā or class room is near the Hostel. In the design of the College building the same ideal should be kept in view. *Brahmacarya* is a semi-ascetic state.

For *one* institution, the building should be of the most substantial kind, and that is the Library. *It should be fire-proof*, and should be also damp and insect proof. It should have the following accommodation :

A hall for the storage of the manuscripts, and attached to it the rooms in which the curator, his clerks, and scribes and the photostat operator will work, and another room where the cataloguing can go on ; there should be a corresponding hall for the modern side of the Library with reference works on open shelves, and suitable bays for reading ; intermediate between these should be the research rooms, the Museum, the Store-room of the Publications section. The offices of the Director and his staff and rooms for lectures given in the

institute, and for classes held in connection therewith may be in the first floor.

The quarters for the menials should be in the *campus.*

The ultimate aim should be to have quarters for all the staff there.

The kitchens should be hygienic, the dining rooms allow for othodox sentiment, and there should be a shrine in which daily pūjā may be made and the food cooked first offered as *Naivedya.*[1]

CONCLUSION

The stewards and devotees of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara have long cherished the desire to start out of the surplus resources of His estate an institution of University rank, which will be worthy of bearing His name. The idea of having a new University at Tirupati was once entertained. It is now rightly given up. A University of the modern type will cost more to start and maintain than all the resources of the great shrine now come up to. A bad University is worse than none. It will be at the best one more institution of the familiar kind, for which there will be no need now in South India, with three Universities already functioning in the area and a fourth in the throes of birth. But through out India we have yet few institutions which fulfil the ancient and recognized duties of the' Hindu state towards indigenous culture and learning and Hinduism. Fewer still attempt modes of life and discipline which conserve not merely the old learning but the traditional discipline and outlook. For the preservation and spread of the culture and religious thought specially associated with South India virtually no service is now rendered directly by any existing institution, in spite of the opening of departments of Oriental learning in the Universities of Madras, Mysore and Chidambaram. The combination of the older and newer types of erudition side by side

1. The financial recommendations, which come here, are omitted.

in the same institution, and the pursuit of learning and research in an atmosphere of dedication and in a non-secular environment were once thought worthy of the best endeavours of our temples, Maṭhs and men of affluence. That such old ideals may be realized in combination with the most modern, and that without the sacrifice of anything valuable in tradition and religion, as governing life's aims, it will be possible to promote the advancement of learning, and effect a synthesis of the best in ancient Indian and modern thought, are the convictions which have prompted the suggestions contained in this memorandum. If they are carried out, it is open to hope that the dream of an Oriental University at Tirupati will be realized at an early date, and that South India will have the same beneficial reactions that the greater part of India has had, from the starting and the development of the great Sanskrit College at Benares and other institutions which have sprung in imitaticn of it. It will be the fulfilment of the ardent desire of those who have laboured for the ideal, and have looked for the means of attainment not merely to the support afforded by the material resources of His estate but to the inexhaustible grace of Śrīnivāsa.

NOTE ON THE PROPOSAL FOR AN ORIENTAL INSTITUTE AT TIRUPATI*

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At the discussions in the meeting held on the forenoon of the 24th instant at the residence of the Hon'ble the Minister of Religious Endowments, Madras, certain aspects of the above question came up, and I had occasion to express my views thereon. The Hon'ble Dr. Rajan asked me to place them in writing, I now do briefly, in continuation of my opinion on the Memorandum of Professor Rangaswami, which is already in print. As a result of the Conference I have now a fair idea of the local aspects of the problem, with which, from my detachment, I was not before so familiar. The purpose of this Note is to try to show that a consideration of the aspects placed before me does not necessitate any qualification in my approval of the Scheme outlined in the Memorandum, or in my conviction that the starting of an institution of the character outlined, without further avoidable delay, is both desirable and necessary.

In connection with some observations made on the Memorandum by correspondents, I desired to see the enactments which are in force in regard to the administration of the estates, income and funds of the religious temples in the South, in general, and of the Tirupati temple, in particular. My reading of the enactments makes me feel that it is quite within the power of the Devasthānam authorities to start an

1. This Note was written at the request of the Hon'ble the Minister for Religious Endowments, Madras, and submitted on the 26th November 1938.

institution of the kind proposed and to endow or finance it out of the surplus income and accumulated funds of the Devasthānam. The only ltmitations to the Government's powers in such cases seem to be those implied in section 79 of the Hindu Religious Endowments Act. The need to conform to this section cannot be said to be non-existing in the case of the Tirupati Devasthānam, and that will furnish the proper answer to objections usually brought forward against *all* Schemes designed to promote higher studies of a literary or historical character, on what is called the "Arts" side, to the exclusion of modern scientific or technical sides. It is, for instance, conceivable that proposals might be made to institute scholarships for students pursuing post-graduate study of pure or applied science in foreign Universities from the funds of the Devasthānam, or for maintaining institutions within the country engaged in technical and industrial education. Valuable as these are, particularly from the outlook of the Younger India of today, it appears to me that such diversion of Devasthānam funds will be repugnant to the underlying intentions of the Act.

The Scheme under consideration has not this fuudamental objection. It is in accord with the law, and is also quite in keeping with the best traditions of the Tirupati Devasthānam, or, for that matter,—as pointed out in the Memorandum (pages 2–3) in keeping with the best traditions of all temples and religious institutions in the country. The Scheme does no contemplate any breaking away from tradition, nor is it unresponsive to the calls of the present and the future; for, one of its obvious aims is to mould tradition so as to bring it into line with the reasonable demands of modern times. It has features which are designed to secure adjustability to progress and the future. The specific aim of the Scheme, it will be remembered, is the advancement of learning and knowledge by teaching and research, and the light of learning, it is needless to point out, is the most effective destroyer of narrowness ignorance, bigotry and superstition, which have their roots in

ignorance and selfishness. "Orthodoxy", when grounded on knowledge, has always been progressive, operating slowly and insensibly, in its own fashion and with its own slogans, but steadily and effectively in the direction of adjustments which time necessitates. An unbiassed view of the rise and growth of cultural movements in India will, it is believed, abundantly confirm this statement.

The proposal outlined can accordingly be trusted to meet the usual objections of both the "progressive" and the "orthodox" opponents. It hās ever been, and must always continue to be, the duty and privilege of religious institutions to help the cause of true learning. No religion based on wide toleration and eternal verities has anything to fear from the advancement of knowledge.

If this is seen, the justification for the utilization, along lines proposed, of the *surplus* funds of religious institutions, which draw their resources from the devotion of the faithful, is clear. The Church, both in the East and in the West, has been the real founder and maintainer of Universities. Faith need not bar out reason. To many persons, a great library of books and manuscripts, in a few specific subjects, is a more real *tīrtha* than many well-known places of pilgrimage, and a temple of learning is the best of all temples. A good library is a standing invitation to learn, to investigate and to think. Nothing cements society like spread of knowledge by such means as libraries, research-fellowships and publication. There was a time when such institutions were perhaps more numerous in our land than they are now. To men like me the necessity of such institutes seems so obvious as not to need demonstration or special pleading. If great wealth has duties, none among rival duties, stands out so *urgently* as that of widening the limits of knowledge.

I have understood that this great shrine enjoys, from the hold it has on its myriads of *bhaktas* an annual income, *all* of which can not be expended in the mere traditional maintenance of the temple and its adjuncts, even on the most

generous eonstruction of such openings for expenditure; and that the accumulated surplus now amounts to some lakhs. The use of some of this surplus income, and of the hoarded capital, can hardly therefore impose any restriction on the expenses, which the devout body of worshippers may deem to be the primary obligations of the Devasthānam. The mere accumulation of surpluses is meaningless, while, their existence is always a temptation to diversion or appropriation in directions or for purposes less closely connected with the pnrposes of religion than the conservation of learning and knowlege and their advancement.

Even conceding the above, it might still, I gather, be argued, in some quarters, that a scheme of the sort *now* under consideration, is not the *right* one for the utilization of the surplus resources of this Devasthānam. To a superficial peruser of the Memorandum, it would seem that the proposed institute is one *solely* designed to advance knowledge of, and in, Sanskrit. In a sense this is correct, and also proper. But, it will not be a fair reading of the aims of the Scheme if it carried the implication that there is any idea in it of deliberate restriction or exclusion of any or particular vernaculars. I gather that Tirupati stands geographically on the meeting point of Tamil and Telugu, but the great shrine is an All-India institution, and has always drawn worshippers from all parts of India speaking different languages. The All-India character of the shrine comes primarily from what may be called "Sanskrit" culture and Śrīvaiṣṇava religion and philosophy. If we are to preserve its traditional *All-India* character, *these* sides should neither be ignored nor suffer subordination.

Fortunately, the genius of South Indian Vaiṣṇavism has made for comprehension and not exclusion. One of the Vernaculars, *viz.* Tamil, is as sacred as Sanskrit or only next to it in sanctity, as embodying the literature of the canon of Śrīvaiṣṇavism or an important section of it. The point has been emphasized in the Memorandum, which provides for the

proper study and exploration of the Tamil *prabandha* literature. Though Telugu does not enshrine the canon, as Sanskrit and Tamil apparently do, yet, if I am informed correctly, a considerable part of the literature of Telugu is concerned with the cult and its philosophy, while its musical expression has been largely in that language. If the idea that the training of *kathakas* for the popularization of the cult and its culture should be among the aims of the Institute is agreed to, it is inconceivable that the interests of Telugu, will be allowed to suffer. The red herring of supposed Tamil-Telugu rivalry cannot therefore be justly drawn across the path of the Scheme.

I may be, however, with the detachment of a man to whom such local differences do not appeal, permitted to state that, from a large *national*, as even more from a *cultural* point of view, the excessive emphasis laid, in recent times, on separate linguistic organizations is to be deplored. Our vernaculars have certainly the right to live and grow, but, it must not be at the cost of the unity of the Nation as a whole. What factors have we for securing this national solidarity? It is always to be English and institutions modelled on those of Britain? Is it to be Hindusthāni or Hindi? By emphasizing the Hindusthāni aspect, we might hope to bring in our Islamic brethren to march with us to the goal of national unity, while by stressing the Hindi aspect, we emphasize Sanskrit culture which, for Hindi, is the backbone and source of strength and vitality. It might be mentioned, in passing, that the Scheme *does* provide for the study of Hindi, *deliberately*, in view of the All-India character of the congregation of this temple. But, is Sanskrit culture behind Hindi alone among the spoken languages of India? Is it right to assume, in the face of history and fact, an antagonism between Sanskrit (or so-called "Āryan") culture and Draviḍian culture? If we go back to the times we call pre-history, say of the chalco-lithic period of Mohenja-daro, we find, among a people obviously not "Āryan", and *possibly* "Draviḍian", features of the culture, which we termed "Āryan".

Whatever therefore be their origins in the *remote* past, the cultures which are now deemed to be rivals, —"Āryan" represented by Sanskrit and "Draviḍian" represented by Telugu-Tamil, —have lived, grown and mingled amicably. There has been an uninterupted, steady and copious give-and-take between them, from the Upaniṣad times onwards. It is their fusion into a common culture which furnishes, in spite of linguistic differences, a tangible bond of unity, in the shape of the great temples of Southern India, Hindusthān, Mahārāṣṭra and Bengal, which it would be foolish to characterize as exclusively Sanskritic or non-Sanskritic, Āryan or non-Āryan, Brāhmanic or non-Brāhmanic. *Yātras* or pilgrimages to these temples were, we may well believe, recommended or imposed as a sacred duty on the faithful because they would save the soul of Hinduism, i.e. its basic unity and solidarity. If this be true, a Scheme that has an All-India appeal in it (and the features of the Scheme under consideration, like the library, and research and publication, hold out such an appeal) must be endorsed by all right-thinking men, who desire, above all, a united Nation. To them, as to me, it will seem false patriotism, ultimately detrimental to the true interests of our motherland, of India as a *Nation*, to think in terms of a *supposed* antagonism conceived as inhering in Sanskrit, as an "Āryan'- and "Brahmanical" culture on the one side, and Telugu-Tamil or "Draviḍian" as representing a non-Brahminical culture on the other. An effective corrective to such disastrous beliefs will spring from the whole-hearted working of the proposed, Institute.

What of the future, should the Scheme be accepted and the proposals materialize? For over sixty years, the funds of the Devasthānam have been utilized for educational purposes including the maintenance of a Sanskrit College. It has had surpluses. While it is not wise to dogmatize about the future it will be prudent *not* to reckon, in view of the trends of our times, on the continuation for *all* time of such a happy financial position. The dark times may be nearer than many might

imagine. In any case, it would be good *policy* not to make so important an institution, and so valuable a Scheme depend on the existence of *cāsudl* surplus income of the Devasthānam. It would be wise, particularly, as there are ample accumulations now in hand, to set the necessary sums apart to endow the Institution, and make it independant of fluctuations in finance. But, should it need time to place the Scheme on this sound financial basis, so that *all* its expenditure could be met out of the interest of the endowments, it will be unwise to put off the implementing of the Scheme till then. An institution of the kind in contemplation takes time to grow. It would therefore be necessary to start at once, *atleast* with the higher aspects of the Scheme, and commence the Library and Research side first. I know from experience what extraordinarily slow things in growth libraries are. There are opportunities to be carefully watched for and snatched when they come. At the same time, the teaching institution already in existence at the Devasthānam, can be improved and brough into line with the Scheme, so as to raise its status and character. What I would like to see at Tirupati, in the years to come, would be a great Viśiṣṭādvaita pandit of All-India reputation, installed in the proposed Academy, training bands of devoted pupils in the *Āgamas* and the *Prabandhas* along traditional lines, the teacher as well as the taught leading lives, which compel homage and admiration; and, side by side with them, a band of eager research-workers engaged on the production of a learned and critical history of the Bhakti movement in the South based on original sources and investigation on the most exacting modern lines, under competent guidance, the two sides working, not in mutual rivalry and distrust, but piously and harmoniously for the realization of a common goal. If Lord Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa wills it, the wish will not remain unfulfilled.

Before I conclude, let me say a word about the Bhakti movement as such. In no country except ours has religious devotion lived so long and weathered so many storms. The

movement has produced eminent saints and saviours. But, it has also seen degeneration into quarrels and disgusting animosities. In spite of all this, the movement has gone forward because it has a vital force in it, which can make us all realize our fundamental unity and kindship as the children of One Almighty Father. It is this catholic, unifying character of the cult, which appeals most to me. Through its spread, I seem to visualize a united India and the fulfilment of her mission as the teacher of true religion to mankind. And, in its spread, all institutions of the kind now proposed for Tirupati can work in honourable emulation.

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PART III

|| श्रीः ||

श्रीश्रीनिवासपरब्रह्मणे नमः ॥

श्रीवैखानसे आत्रेये समूर्तार्चनाधिकरणम् ॥

॥ अ त्रि सं हि ता ॥

॥ तत्रायं प्रथमो भागः ॥

तत्र प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ (१)

(शास्त्रावतरणक्रमकथनात्मकः)

[अत्रिमहर्षेः सन्निधौ मुनीनां प्रश्नक्रमः]

अत्रिं विश्वविदां श्रेष्ठमृषिं विश्वहितोद्यमम् ।
ऋषयो धर्मसम्पन्नाः समागम्य प्रणम्य च ॥ ॥ १ ॥

अभिपूज्य यथान्यायमिदं वचनमब्रुवन् ।
भगवन् ! सर्ववित् ! त्वं हि तस्मात्पूजामहे वयम् ॥ ॥ २ ॥

[परमपुरुषविषयकप्रश्नक्रमः]

देवानां परमो देवः परमात्मा च योऽव्ययः ।
तस्यैवार्चयिताऽभीष्टं पुरुषो वाप्नुयात् परम् ॥ ॥ ३ ॥

तदर्चनाविधानं हि वदः त्वं वदतां वर ! ।
इत्युक्तः स महातेजा महर्षिस्तान् यथाक्रमम् ॥ ॥ ४ ॥

[अत्रिमुनिकृतप्रत्युत्तरप्रकारः]

अत्रिः संप्रतिपूज्यैव प्रसन्नः प्रत्युवाच सः ।
सर्वेषामपि देवानां परो नारायणः स्मृतः ॥ ॥ ५ ॥

[परब्रह्मविषयकश्रुतिनिरूपणम्]

नारायणः परं ब्रह्म परमात्मा परोऽव्ययः ।
स ब्रह्मा स शिवश्चेति श्रुतिराह सनातनी ॥ ॥ ६ ॥

[नारायणशब्दार्थविवरणक्रमः]

आपो नाराःसमुद्दिष्टास्तासु तस्यायनं यतः ।
तेन नारायणः सोऽभूत्सर्वस्यापि सनातनः ॥ ॥ ७ ॥

[विष्णुशब्दार्थविवरणप्रकारः]

अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयांश्च गुहास्थितः ।
विश्वव्यापकशीलत्वाद्विष्णुरित्यभिधीयते ॥ ॥ ८ ॥

[परमपुरुषस्य नानाविधप्रभाववर्णनम्]

सर्ववेदमयो देवः सर्वदेवमयो विभुः ।
सर्वयज्ञमयो विष्णुः सर्वधर्ममयो हरिः ॥ ॥ ९ ॥

सर्वेशः सर्वभूतात्मा सर्वाधारः सुरेश्वरः ।
नित्योऽचिन्त्योऽप्रमेयश्च निर्गुणोऽतीन्द्रियः परः ॥ ॥ १० ॥

अनादिनिधनः स्रष्टा पाता हर्ताऽखिलस्य च ।
परं धामा परं ज्योतिः सर्वकारणकारणम् ॥ ॥ ११ ॥

[नारायणकृताद्यसृष्टिक्रम]

आदौ नारायणोऽव्यक्तः स्रष्टुं व्यक्तगुणान्वितः ।
अपो देवः स सृष्ट्वैव तासु वीर्यं स्वमुप्तवान् ॥ ॥ १२ ॥

[हिरण्यगर्भसृष्टिक्रमः]

अण्डं हैरण्यमभवत् यत्तदीयं महत्तरम् ।
तस्मिन् हैरण्यगर्भाख्यं ब्रह्माणमसृजत्स्वयम् ॥ ॥ १३ ॥

[तत्कृतजगत्सृष्टिकथनम्]

तेनैव ब्रह्मणा सृष्टं जगद्धि सचराचरम् ।
भूर्भुवः स्वर्महश्चापि जनः सत्यं तपस्तथा ॥ ॥ १४ ॥

लोकाश्चान्ये दिशोऽष्टौ च द्वीपाः सर्वे ससागराः ।
जरायुजा अण्डजाश्च स्वेदजोद्भिदजास्तथा ॥ ॥ १५ ॥

सर्वाण्यपि च भूतानि महान्ति च लघूनि च ।
तेषां नामानि वृत्तिश्च पृथक्कर्म चतुर्विधम् ॥ ॥ १६ ॥

तत्तज्जन्मलयस्तेषां सुखदुःखे च तद्विधिः ।
सत्यानृते तपः शौचं धर्माधर्मौ शुभाशुभे ॥ ॥ १७ ॥

[गन्धर्वादिसृष्टिप्रकारः]

स्वर्गश्च नरकः स्वेन कर्मणैव गतिस्तयोः ।
गन्धर्वाश्चाप्सरोवर्गाः नक्षत्रैः सह तारकैः ॥ ॥ १८ ॥

असुरा राक्षसा भूता गरुडा नागकिन्नराः ।
यक्षा विद्याधराः सिद्धा मनुष्याः ब्राह्मणादयः ॥ ॥ १९ ॥

ऋषयो मनवः सर्वे पितृणां च पृथग्गणाः ।
देवाः सर्वेऽपि तेनैव संसृष्टा ब्रह्मणा पुरा ॥ ॥ २० ॥

[ब्रह्मरुद्रादिकृतभगवदर्चनाक्रमः]

तस्मात् ब्रह्मा च रुद्रोऽभूद्देवाश्चेन्द्रादयोऽखिलाः ।
नारायणं महादेवं विष्णुं सर्वेश्वरं विभुम् ॥ ॥ २१ ॥

परात्परतरं नित्यमर्चयन्ति नमन्ति ते ।
ऋषयश्चाखिलैर्यज्ञैस्तं यजन्त्यर्चयन्ति ते ॥ ॥ २२ ॥

ऋग्यजुः सामभिर्वेदैः स्तुवन्ति प्रणमन्ति ते ।
उपवासं व्रतं दानं स्वाध्यायश्च तपांसि च ॥ ॥ २३ ॥

[भगवत्स्मरणमाहात्म्यवर्णनम्]

सर्वाणि श्रौतकर्माणि तुष्ट्यै तस्याचरन्ति च ।
तस्य स्मृत्या भवेत्पूर्णो यज्ञो न्यूनः प्रमादतः ॥ ॥ २४ ॥

धर्मत्वमेव यज्ञस्य विष्णुरित्याह वै श्रुतिः ।
यमैः सन्नियमैर्युक्ताः यं ध्यायन्तीह योगिनः ॥ ॥ २५ ॥

तस्य स्मृतिर्मुमुक्षूणां मोक्षायैव भवेत् ध्रुवम् ।
तस्मिन् देवेऽर्चिते देवाः सर्वे सन्त्यर्चितास्ततः ॥ ॥ २६ ॥

[परमपुरुषार्चनाप्रभावादि]

इहामुत्रापि पुरुषो विष्णोरर्चयितैव हि ।
इष्टान् कामानवाप्नोति तदीयं च परं पदम् ॥ ॥ २७ ॥

[नारायणस्यार्चना द्विविधेति कथनम्]

अमूर्तेति समूर्तेति द्विविधा साऽर्चना मता ।
अमूर्ताऽग्न्याहुतिः प्रोक्ता समूर्ता प्रतिमार्चना ॥ ॥ २८ ॥

[विखनसो मुनेर्वैभवप्रकारः]

यश्च वैखानसीं शाखामादावध्यापयन्मुनीन् ।
नाम्ना विखनसं प्राहुर्यं च वैखानसं तथा ॥ ॥ २९ ॥

ऋषिणा तेन संप्रोक्तं सूत्रं वैखानसं मतम् ।
अग्निहोत्रादिहोमान्तं सायं प्रातरतन्द्रितः ॥ ॥ ३० ॥

[वैखानसाग्नाप्रकारकथनम्]

गृहे देवालये वाऽपि द्विजातिः पुरुषं परम् ।
भक्त्या नारायणं नित्यमर्चयेदिति शासनम् ॥ ॥ ३१ ॥

अमूर्ता विस्तरेणोक्ता संक्षेपादितरोदिता ।
संक्षिप्ता सा समूर्तार्चा विस्तरेण प्रवक्ष्यते ॥ ॥ ३२ ॥

तस्मादत्र मयोक्तस्य होमस्याग्न्याह्वयेऽपि च ।
अग्न्याघाराश्च होमाश्च मन्त्राः शिष्टाश्च सर्वशः ॥ ॥ ३३ ॥

[समूर्तार्चायाः द्वैविध्यशैली]

सम्यग्वैखानसे सूत्रे विज्ञेया विधिवित्तमैः ।
आलयार्चा गृहार्चेति समूर्तार्चा द्विधा मता ॥ ॥ ३४ ॥

बल्युत्सवादिभिर्हीना न्यूना तस्माद्गृहार्चना ।
देवस्यैव निवासत्वात्परिवारैः समायुता ॥ ॥ ३५ ॥

बल्युत्सवादिभिः सर्वैरुपचारैश्च संयुता ।
आलयार्चा सुपूर्णेयमुत्तमेति प्रकीर्तिता ॥ ॥ ३६ ॥

[देवार्चायाश्चातुर्विध्यशैली]

देवदेवस्य विष्णोस्तु उत्तमार्चाक्रमस्य वै ।
चतुर्भिर्मुनिभिः प्रोक्ताश्चत्वारो विधयःशुभाः ॥ ॥ ३७ ॥

चतुर्वेदोद्भवैर्मन्त्रैश्चतुर्वेदसमाश्रिताः ।
चतुर्वेदसमृध्यर्थं चातुराश्रमसिद्धिदाः ॥ ॥ ३८ ॥

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाख्यचतुर्वर्गस्य साधनम् ।
क्रमाचरणतः श्लाघ्याश्चातुर्वर्ण्याः सुसाधनाः ॥ ॥ ३९ ॥

[वैखानसागममुनीनां नामानि]

भृगुणा काश्यपेनापि मया चैव मरीचिना ।
ज्ञेयास्ते भगवद्भक्तैर्द्विजैः पूजोत्सवादिकाः ॥ ॥ ४० ॥

तदुक्तेनैव मार्गेण हरेरर्चां समाचरेत् ।
एतैश्चतुर्विधैर्विष्णोरालयार्चनकर्मणि ॥ ॥ ४१ ॥

[हरेरर्चनार्थं जातिनिरूपणशैली]

ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यो यजमानत्वमर्हति ।
यदि शूद्रोऽनुलोमश्च कर्तुमिच्छेत् तु भक्तिमान् ॥ ॥ ४२ ॥

राजानं यजमानं हि कल्पयित्वाऽऽरभेत्पुनः ।
तथा कर्ता तु शूद्रादिः समग्रं फलमाप्नुयात् ॥ ॥ ४३ ॥

सूतादिप्रतिलोमस्तु कर्तुं नार्हति किञ्चन ।
आद्यं विष्णुं विधातारं ब्रह्माणं च प्रणम्य च ॥ ॥ ४४ ॥

आलयार्चाविधिं विष्णोः प्रवक्ष्यामि यथाक्रमम् ।
विस्तराद्भूपरीक्षादि शृणुध्वं सर्वमुत्तमाः ! ॥ ॥ ४५ ॥

इति श्रीवैखानसे अत्रिप्रोक्ते समूर्तार्चनाधिकरणे मुनिप्रश्नोत्तरक्रमकथनं नाम

प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

आदितः श्लोकानां संख्या (४५)

॥ अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥ (२)

(देवालयनिर्माणार्हभूमिपरीक्षाक्रमकथनात्मकः)

[तत्रादौ वक्तव्यविषयप्रतिज्ञाशैली]

अथातः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि भूमेः सम्यक् परीक्षणम् ।
भूपरीक्षणकाले तु यजमानोऽथ भक्तिमान् ॥ ॥ १ ॥

[तत्राचार्यवरणक्रमः ; तस्य लक्षणादिश्च]

आचार्यं वरयेत्पूर्वं सर्वकार्योपदेशकम् ।
वैखानसेन सूत्रेण निषेकादिक्रियान्वितम् ॥ ॥ २ ॥

विप्रं वेदविदां श्रेष्ठं नित्यं स्वाध्यायसम्युतम् ।
शौचाचारसमायुक्तं भक्त्याद्यात्मगुणैर्युतम् ॥ ॥ ३ ॥

तेन सूत्रविधानेन नित्यहोमसमन्वितम् ।
पत्न्यपत्ययुतं शान्तं नारायणपरायणम् ॥ ॥ ४ ॥

आलयार्चाविधिं मन्त्रप्रयोगं तदनुक्रमम् ।
प्रायश्चित्तादि वेत्तारं समाहूयाभिपूज्य च ॥ ॥ ५ ॥

[आचार्यवरणानर्हपुरुषलक्षणम्]

एतैर्गुणैः सुसंपन्नमाचार्यं वरयेद्बुधम् ।
हीनातिरिक्तदीर्घाङ्गं कुब्जमन्धं च वामनम् ॥ ॥ ६ ॥

क्षयापस्मारकुष्ठैश्च पापरोगैः समन्वितम् ।
क्रूरं मत्सरिणं षण्डं पाषण्डं बधिरं तथा ॥ ॥ ७ ॥

उन्मादेन युतं स्तेनं नास्तिकं शौचवर्जितम् ।
विष्णुभक्तिविहीनं च चलचित्तं च वर्जयेत् ॥ ॥ ८ ॥

[तत्रादौ प्रार्थनाक्रमः]

आचार्यं वरयित्वैवं तेनोक्तं सर्वमाचरेत् ।
कर्मेदं मे कुरुष्वेति याचेताचार्यमादरात् ॥ ॥ ९ ॥

[ततः करणीयकार्यक्रमः]

आचार्यो यजमानेन भूमिं सम्यक् परीक्षयेत् ।
अङ्कुरानर्पयित्वैव शिल्पशास्त्रविशारदम् ॥ ॥ १० ॥

शिल्पिनं च समाहूय पूर्वपक्षे दिने शुभे ।
यजमानो गुरुं चैव देवदेवं प्रणम्य च ॥ ॥ ११ ॥

[हरिमन्दिरस्थापनार्हभूमिलक्षणम्]

प्रसीदेति प्रणम्यैव भक्त्या कार्यं समाचरेत् ।
तुलसीभिः समायुक्ता कुशैर्वापि समायुता ॥ ॥ १२ ।

क्षीरवृक्षवती चापि सपद्मसरसीयुता ।
प्रदक्षिणोदका वापि श्वेता वा पीतवर्णिनी ॥ ॥ १३ ॥

[तत्र उत्तमादिभूमिपरिज्ञानक्रमः]

प्रागुदक्प्रवणा वापि विष्णोर्भूमिः प्रकीर्तिता ।
शुद्धां भूमिं खनित्वा तां तन्मृदा पूरयेत्पुनः ॥ ॥ १४ ॥

अधिकं चेच्छुभं विद्यान्न्यूने न्यूनं भवेदिति ।
तत्र दक्षिणतः पार्श्वे गौळी स्यात्सुस्वरा यदि ॥ ॥ १५ ॥

[शुभशकुननिरीक्षणादिः]

तत्र वृद्धिरविघ्नश्च देवस्यापि रतिर्भवेत् ।
जयानन्दा हरेत्यादिशुभशब्दाः शुभावहाः ॥ ॥ १६ ॥